M. MINUCII FELICIS
OCTAVIUS

M. MINUCII FELICIS
OCTAVIUS

WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES

BY

Rev. T. FAHY, M.A., B.D.

ASSISTANT PROFESSOR OF ANCIENT CLASSICS, ST. PATRICK'S COLLEGE,
MAYNOOTH

THE EDUCATIONAL COMPANY OF IRELAND
LIMITED . . DUBLIN AND BELFAST

1919

PREFACE

The tendency in these countries in recent times has been towards the comparative, I should almost say total, neglect of early Christian authors in favour of the older classics. Cicero, Caesar, Livy, Vergil, and Horace, not to mention the rest, will ever retain their hallowed and unchallenged place in the galaxy of genius, but it is a mistake to think that the good wine of Latin literature was exhausted in their use. Apart from their appealing historical interest and regarded solely from the view-point of literary merit, Tertullian, Augustine and Jerome, to mention but three Latin fathers, may be said to have a just ground of grievance against the partiality of an educational system which dispenses the honours so unequally. "When a Greek or Roman philosopher or rhetorician," says the late J. E. B. Mayor, "became a Christian he did not at once forget all the learning of the past." To early Christian writers we are indebted for a very large part of what we know of ancient religion and for much light, too, on the history of the Greek and Latin languages; and a study of their works is the best acknowledgement of our obligation.

The purpose of the present edition of the *Octavius* of

Minucius Felix is to help to remedy the abuse we refer to, by focusing attention once more on this gem of Christian literature. Minucius was probably the first of the Latin apologists of Christianity, and a study of his work is a most fitting introduction to the Latin Christian classics. While continental scholars have been busily engaged in the elucidation of this author no English edition has appeared since the middle of the nineteenth century. The work of Holden will always command the respect of scholars, but scholarship has advanced since his day, and the very difficulty of procuring a copy of his work is sufficient apology for an independent edition.

The text is based on the collation of Waltzing (Louvain 1909), the instances in which I have departed from his readings being noted in the commentary (3. 3; 5. 5; 11. 5; 11. 9; 14. 1; 14. 4; 16. 1; 16. 4; 19. 4; 19. 9; 20. 3; 20. 4; 21. 5; 22. 6; 23. 7; 24. 4; 25. 10; 26. 12; 27. 1; 28. 5; 33. 2; 33. 4; 34. 5; 38. 2). A recent critical edition by Schöne (Leipzig 1913) suffers so much from arbitrary emendation of the original that, with one or two notable exceptions, it seems to me of little value. The orthography of the Paris MS. is said to be faulty and capricious, hence I have adopted the ordinary spelling in almost every instance, using assimilation instead of dissimilation, although it is practically certain that Minucius wrote *adgredior* for *aggredior*, *inberbis* for *imberbis*, *adflatus* for *afflatus* etc., and for archaic effect *locuntur* (9. 6), *inicum* (28. 1), *delitisco* (27. 1), *facinerosus* (25. 2), *loquela* (2. 1), etc., instead of the familiar forms.

In writing the notes I have received considerable help from previous editions, especially those of Holden and Waltzing. To the latter's work I am particularly indebted. As necessarily happens, many of the references cited will be found already in the work of other editors. I hope, however, to have contributed something new to the interpretation of the text. Unfortunately Mayor's edition of Tertullian's *Apology* did not reach me until the notes were almost completed. But this disadvantage is set off by the consideration that the limits of a school edition, such as the present, must preclude much of the erudition that an earlier acquaintance with this great work might have supplied.

In the interests of younger students I have emphasised the peculiarities of later Latin in point of language and syntax. Some attention also has been devoted in the notes to matters of textual criticism, as I have found by experience that when problems of this kind are referred to an appendix they are apt to be neglected by students, and this important branch of study suffers in consequence.

It remains for me to express a word of indebtedness and gratitude to my colleagues Dr. Sheehan and Dr. D'Alton, and especially to Professor Semple of Dublin University College, who has kindly read the work in proof and made many valuable suggestions.

T. FAHY.

MAYNOOTH COLLEGE,
May 1919.

CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION

I. SUBJECT MATTER OF THE *OCTAVIUS*

A "golden book," "one of the masterpieces of Christian literature," "the delight of refined souls,"—these are some of the eulogies of modern criticism on the *Octavius* of Minucius Felix.

It is a dialogue of the Ciceronian rather than the Platonic kind, a trial rather, where two advocates plead before a lay judge, the cause being the rival merits of two religious systems, the old Paganism and the new religion of Christianity. The work consists of forty chapters, the first four of which serve as an introduction where Minucius describes in beautiful pathetic language the intensity of the joy he felt on the occasion of a visit at Rome from his lifelong friend Octavius, who, like himself, had become an adherent of the new creed. Octavius, Minucius, and a pagan friend and disciple of the latter, named Caecilius, set out on an excursion to the charming seaside resort of Ostia. There is a picturesque, poetic description of the beach and of the boys' game of "duck and drake." An incident that occurred on the walk to the shore was the immediate occasion of the discussion on the religious question. Caecilius dutifully saluted a statue of Serapis on the wayside and Octavius thereupon sarcastically rebuked Minucius for allowing his friend to practise such a vulgar superstition. The pagan was cut

to the quick by this gratuitous insult to his religion and challenged Octavius to a formal debate. The Christian accepted, and forthwith the three friends take a seat on the mole of Ostia with Minucius in the centre as arbiter.

The dialogue proper begins at Chapter v. The speech of Caecilius, the champion of paganism, covers nine chapters (v–xiii), while the reply of Octavius for Christianity extends to twenty-three chapters (xvi–xxxviii), the intervening chapters (xiv–xv) consisting of a few more or less irrelevant remarks by Minucius on the general question of debate. A short epilogue concludes (xxxix–xl).

The arguments of Caecilius are mainly as follows:—

1. Truth is impossible of attainment. Hence scepticism is the only sensible attitude. The evidence that exists points to an absence of divine providence in the government of the world.

2. It is a holier and a better thing to adhere to the ancient religion whose efficacy has been proved. The ancient gods give ample proof of their existence, and shower blessings on the people.

3. Christians are a contemptible set of ignoramuses drawn from the dregs of society. Their religion is immoral and absurd. Their god is an impotent, inquisitive individual, and their life a cheerless round of dull existence.

4. Secrecy is the chief feature of Christian worship. Rumour has it that they adore a criminal and the gibbet on which he was crucified, as well as an ass's head. Their theories about the world's end, a future life, reward and punishment are ludicrously foolish.

Octavius deals with these arguments one by one. He notes the inconsistency of Caecilius, who first professed faith in scepticism and in the next breath championed

the cause of the pagan gods. The Christian, however, generously refers the inconsistency to a lack of fixed guiding principle on the part of Caecilius; the latter is like a ship without anchorage, shifted about by every wind of doubt and suspicion. Octavius argues thus:

1. The ordinary phenomena of nature proclaim the existence of a supreme, intelligent power that sustains and governs the world. This power is one, incomprehensible and infinite. Christian doctrine in this matter is at one with the teaching of pagan poets and philosophers.

2. The popular deities of heathendom are only unreal abstractions or mere mortals deified by a grateful but simple-minded people. Such is the testimony of history and philosophy. Rome's greatness is not due to her gods. The real character of these latter is portrayed in pagan literature and art.

3. The charges of immorality levelled against Christianity are the false concoctions of impure spirits. Paganism is guilty of the foulest crimes.

4. Christians place the knowledge of God before everything and are prepared to make the greatest sacrifices for his sake. Their theories about the final dissolution of the world, resurrection and retribution are seen to be in harmony with the teachings of Pythagoras, Plato and the Stoics. In fact common-sense and philosophy are on the side of Christianity.

Caecilius having listened in silence to this argument admits his defeat without awaiting the verdict of Minucius. He embraces the new religion, but demands further inquiry for the investigation of details. The sun was now sinking in the west, and the friends depart full of joy and gladness.

II. PERSONAGES OF THE DIALOGUE

Minucius Felix

(a) *His Life*

We have but scanty evidence on the personal history of Minucius Felix. We know from the *Octavius* that he became a convert to Christianity,[1] having been previously as prejudiced against the new creed as any of his pagan fellowmen;[2] and that his work lay in the Roman courts.[3] For further testimony we have to rely mainly on early Christian writers.

Lactantius (*circ.* 310), arguing against the divinity of Saturn, refers to the reasoning of Minucius in the *Octavius*:[4] *Minucius Felix eo libro qui Octavius inscribitur sic argumentatus est*;[5] and later in the same work, lamenting the lack of Christian apologists, he speaks of Minucius as a distinguished lawyer and regrets that he had not devoted himself entirely to apologetics: *Ex iis qui mihi noti sunt Minucius Felix non ignobilis inter causidicos loci fuit. Huius liber cui Octavius titulus est, declarat quam idoneus veritatis assertor esse potuisset, si se totum ad id studium contulisset.*[6] Immediately afterwards Lactantius refers to Tertullian and Cyprian.

St. Jerome (*circ.* 392) also refers to Minucius as being a distinguished lawyer at Rome and author of a work entitled *Octavius*, a dialogue, as he describes it, between a Christian and a pagan. He adds that a work *De Fato s. Contra Mathematicos* was also ascribed to Minucius, but considerations of style, in his opinion, precluded Minucian authorship.[7] In one of Jerome's epistles, where the Latin

[1] 1. 4. [2] 28. 2. [3] 28. 3; 2. 3. [4] 21. 7. [5] Lact. *Div. Inst.* 1. 11. 55. [6] *Id. ibid.* 5. 1. 21 [7] Jer. *Vir. Illustr.* 58.

apologists are discussed, Tertullian is mentioned first, the *Apologeticus* and *Contra Gentes* getting a special meed of praise; Minucius Felix, a lawyer of the Roman bar, is mentioned next, and the works *Octavius* and *De Fato* are complimented, with a doubt, however, expressed as to the authenticity of the latter (*si tamen inscriptio non mentitur auctorem*). References to Arnobius, Lactantius, Victorinus Martyr, Cyprian, Hilary and Juvencus follow in order.[1] In the Epistle to Heliodorus several Latin apologists are mentioned in the following order: Tertullian, Cyprian, Hilary, Minucius Felix, Victorinus and Arnobius.[2] And in another epistle Jerome, speaking of the Latin writers, places Tertullian still first, followed in order by Cyprian, Minucius, Lactantius, and Hilary.[3] In a reference in the Commentary on Isaiah to Christian writers of taste and eloquence Tertullian is again first, followed by Cyprian, Minucius, and others.[4]

St. Eucher (*circ.* 425), in an Epistle to Valerianus, enumerating the apologists most renowned for eloquence, mentions Lactantius, Minucius, Cyprian, Hilary, John, and Ambrose.[5]

Thus, all we know for certain is that Minucius Felix was an advocate of the Roman courts and author of the *Octavius*. His exact dates and birth-place are matters of conjecture. He is generally believed to have been an African. Ianuarius Octavius, his bosom friend, the champion of Christianity in the Dialogue, was probably an African also; while Caecilius Natalis, the spokesman of paganism, was a Numidian from Cirta. Inscriptions concerning a Minucius Felix have been found, one at

[1] *Id. Ep.* 70. 5 (Migne, *P.L.* xxii. p. 668).
[2] *Id. Ep.* 60 (Migne, *P.L.* xxii. p. 595).
[3] *Id. Ep.* 48 (Migne, *P.L.* xxii. p. 502).
[4] Migne, *P.L.* xxiv. p. 289.
[5] Migne, *P.L.* l. p. 719.

Tebessa[1] and another at Carthage.[2] The Carthaginian schools of rhetoric enjoyed a far-reaching fame at this time,[3] and after a thorough education there the brilliant Minucius may have been attracted to Rome by the prospects of a forensic career. There the African Fronto had already risen to the pinnacle of fame, and thither also at a later period St. Augustine repaired.

(b) *Date of the "Octavius"*

Most of the latter-day critics agree that Minucius was a contemporary of Tertullian; whether a younger or older contemporary is not decided. There is no likelihood in the theory that our author's activity lay in the reign of Antoninus Pius (138-161), and equally untenable is the position that Minucius belonged to the early part of the fourth century.[4] More perplexed, however, is the question of the relative dates of production of the *Octavius* and *Apologeticus*: whether Tertullian was the model and Minucius the imitator,—for the resemblance is apparent—or *vice versa*. The hypothesis of a third source common to both, but no longer discoverable, lacks probability. Lactantius, in the passage quoted above, gives Minucius priority to Tertullian, and some maintain that this is the chronological order. Jerome, on the other hand, always places Tertullian first, but it is to be noted that, beyond this, Jerome observes no regular order in his enumeration of Christian writers. Minucius is once second, twice third coming after Cyprian, and once fourth coming after the fourth-century Hilary. It is not unlikely, therefore, that Jerome disregards chronology,

[1] *C.I.L.* viii. 1964.

[2] *Bull. arch. du Comité des trav. hist.*, 1886, ii. p. 205.

[3] Gaston Boissier, *Fin du paganisme*, i. p. 262; Paul Monceaux, *Les Africains*, pp. 47 ff.

[4] See Bardenhewer, *Patrology*, p. 72.

placing Tertullian first by precedence of merit as an apologist. Now the *Apologeticus* of Tertullian appeared about the year 197, and we know that the work of Minucius preceded the *De Idolorum Vanitate* of Cyprian (*circ.* 245), for the influence of the *Octavius* is here unmistakably apparent; so that even accepting the priority of Tertullian's work we can assign the first half of the third century, at the latest, as the period in which our author flourished. The weight of authority, however, in recent times is in favour of ascribing the composition of the *Octavius* to the second half of the second century, about the year 187.[1] Fronto of Cirta died about the year 175, and judging from the references in the Dialogue[2] Fronto was probably still living at the date of composition, or at least a well-known personality. It is probable, indeed, that the *Octavius* was a reply to a speech delivered by him in the senate, in which the current calumnies against Christianity were repeated;[3] and, in that case, Minucius must have written while Fronto's attack was still fresh in the public memory. A study of the language of the *Octavius*, also, it is thought, confirms the view that Minucius belonged to the epoch of Fronto.[4]

There is no allusion in the Dialogue to the reigning emperor or the political events of the time that might give a clue to the date of composition. The references to the Parthians,[5] the Jews,[6] joint rulership[7] and Vesuvius[8] are without value in this connexion. It appears, however, that Christianity was still very largely confined to the poor and ignorant and that the influx of the lettered and wealthy classes, ascribed to the beginning of the third century, had not yet taken place. Apparently, too, a

[1] Ebert, *Litt. du moyen âge en occident* (Fr. transl.), i. p. 34.
[2] 9.6; 31. 2.
[3] Gaston Boissier, *op. cit.* i. pp. 267-268.
[4] Introd. vi. D.
[5] 7. 4.
[6] 10. 4.
[7] 18. 5.
[8] 35. 3.

period is being treated when the new-born Church was free from violent persecution, although subjected to the misrepresentation which was the lot of every unpopular political and religious institution.[1] Minucius and Octavius make no secret of their profession of Christianity and are equally candid in their denunciation of the State religion. The *Apologeticus*, on the contrary, reveals different circumstances that point to a later period when Christianity was more extended and the government had adopted the device of diverting public attention, in times of crisis, to the illegal Christian associations whose superstitious practices, they alleged, incurred the wrath of heaven on the State. In the *Octavius*, it is to be noted, Christians are reproachfully accused of refusing office and honours,[2] but the charge of being public enemies and being responsible for national disasters is not yet preferred against them; while Tertullian, on the other hand, is at pains to absolve his co-religionists from such accusations.[3] The inference is that Minucius wrote at a period of comparative freedom from persecution, when the empire was still prosperous,—at some time within the reigns of Marcus Aurelius (161–180) and Commodus (176–192), before the calamities that followed the civil wars between Septimius Severus and his rivals (193).

Those who advocate the earlier production of the *Apologeticus*[4] emphasise the points of resemblance between the two works, the similarity of subject matter, ideas, arguments and even words, but maintain that there is an originality in Tertullian's manner of treatment which argues that he was first in the field. A close comparison

[1] Gaston Boissier, *op. cit. l.c.*
[2] 8. 4; 31. 6.
[3] See Leclercq, *L'Afrique chrétienne*, i. pp. 130 *ff.*
[4] E.g. Holden, and more recently Massebiéau, *Revue de l'hist. des religions* (1887), xv. pp. 316-346.

of the two works has led Ebert,[1] on the contrary, to the opinion that Tertullian is indebted to Minucius for much of the argument and illustration, which he developed and impressed with the stamp of his own original genius. According to this critic[2] Minucius was immediately inspired by the Πρεσβεία περὶ Χριστιανῶν of Athenagoras, a "Christian philosopher of Athens," as he is described in the title of his work, whose apology for Christianity against charges of atheism and immorality was addressed to Marcus Aurelius and Commodus about the year 178.

(c) "*De Fato*"

Of the work *De Fato*, to which St. Jerome refers, we know nothing further. Minucius, it is true, holds forth a promise of a discussion on this subject,[3] and it is possible that such a work from some other pen was ascribed to him.

Octavius

For information concerning Ianuarius Octavius we are altogether dependent on the Dialogue. Possibly he also hailed from Africa, where he probably lived with his wife and family at the period of his visit to Rome.[4] He had probably died before the date of production of the work which bears his name.[5] He had been on most intimate terms of friendship with Minucius from his earliest youth,[6] having preceded him into the Christian fold,[7] where he was evidently a man of prominence.[8] He is the champion of Christianity in the Dialogue.

[1] Ebert, *Rapport de Tertull. à M. Félix* (1868), Fr. transl.
[2] *Id.*, *Litt. du moyen âge*, i. p. 35 (Fr. transl.), cf. Loesche in *Jahrb. für prot. Theol.* (1882), viii. pp. 167-178.
[3] 36. 2.
[4] 2. 1; 3. 4.
[5] See note on *discedens* (1. 3).
[6] 1. 3-4.
[7] 1. 4.
[8] 14. 1.

Caecilius

Caecilius Natalis was probably a native of Cirta (Constantine), the capital of Numidia. Here Latin inscriptions have been found concerning a Marcus Caecilius Natalis, dating from 210 A.D.[1] This Caecilius was chief magistrate of his native town, and in the opinion of some he is identical with the Caecilius of the Dialogue. An obvious difficulty, however, is the fact that the Caecilius of the inscriptions is a pagan of advanced years, while we know that the friend of Minucius became a Christian after the discussion with Octavius. Perhaps he relapsed into paganism, or it may be that the Caecilius mentioned in the inscriptions of Constantine was a son of the convert who renounced his father's religion and rose to supreme power in his native city. Such renunciations of Christianity, we know, were frequent in Africa in the early part of the third century.[2] The latter hypothesis, it may be added, makes for the earlier date of the *Octavius*. There is no further evidence concerning Caecilius, except that at the time of the discussion he was attached to Minucius to learn the profession of law and eloquence.[3]

III. PURPOSE OF THE *OCTAVIUS*

Critics are exercised as to the intent and purpose of the *Octavius*. Some there are who think that the author was as yet imperfectly instructed in the doctrine of the new religion,[4] that, like Arnobius, he undertook to defend Christianity in order to merit the favour of admission

[1] *C.I.L.* viii. 6996, 7094-7098.
[2] See Leclercq, *L'Afrique chrétienne*, i. p. 178. [3] 3. 1 (note).
[4] Kühn, *Der Octav des Minuc. Felix* (Leipzig, 1882).

into the fold; that Minucius was still a mere neophyte when he wrote his apology. Others again think that he belonged to a sect of Christian philosophers who did not accept the whole body of revealed truth,—that he was a heretic in the eyes of the Church.[1] Both parties argue from the incomplete, imperfect presentation of the case for Christianity. They point out that there is no mention of Christ in the dialogue, that a golden opportunity of explaining the assailed doctrine of the Crucifixion is let slip,[2] that the Scriptures and Apostles are passed over in silence, that there is no insistence on the essential dogmas of the Faith, that the supernatural element of grace in the process of conversion is discounted,[3] that the picture of the Christian martyr is just such another as that of Seneca's Stoic sage;[4] in fine, that the religion expounded is merely a rigorous monotheism devoid of cult, an "ethnico-philosophical concept of Christianity"[5] which any pagan philosopher might well evolve. For does Minucius not say in effect: "Wherefore make statues to God seeing that man is his very image? Wherefore build him temples seeing that the universe, his own handiwork, cannot contain him? How circumscribe his immensity within a little chapel? Man's soul is his fitting dwelling-place and man's heart he asks to be consecrated unto him. What good to offer him victims in sacrifice?—Nay rather it is an act of ingratitude, a thrusting back of the gift to the giver. A pure and upright conscience is all that he requires of us. Preservation of our innocence is an act of prayer to God and charity towards our neighbour the noblest sacrifice."[6] This doctrine, it is argued, does not faith-

[1] Baehrens, Teubner edit. p. xii.; cf. Dessau, *Hermes*, 1905, pp. 373-386.
[2] Charge in *Oct.* 9. 4; reply 29. 2.
[3] *Cum sit veritas obvia, sed requirentibus* (21. 8); *sibi credere* (22. 7).
[4] 37. 1. [5] Kühn, *op. cit.* [6] 32. 1-3.

fully represent the belief of the Christian community of the period of Minucius. On what other hypothesis, then, than as suggested is the paradox explained?

Now, against the theory that Minucius was a heretic we have the testimony of Lactantius and Jerome ranking him in the forefront of the defenders of Christianity.[1] The encomium of the former is especially noteworthy. He expresses a regret that Minucius had not devoted himself entirely to apologetics, such an earnest of success was the *Octavius*.[2] And in face of this evidence imperfect instruction is just as improbable as unorthodoxy. Moreover, assuming the discussion was an historical fact, we know that Minucius had accepted Christianity previously to it,—he is described at this time as one *diligenter in utroque vivendi genere versatus*;[3] some time, too, seems to have elapsed between the discussion and the date of writing: Octavius had died in the meantime.[4] So that, in all probability, Minucius was no longer in the neophyte stage. Another explanation must be sought.

Minucius Felix was not a Christian by birth. He was a convert from the upper ranks of society, and by his personal experience and social position had ample opportunity of gauging accurately the attitude of the ordinary cultured pagan of Rome towards the supernatural. He was aware of the peculiar difficulty of grasping the idea of the divine, under which the Roman mind laboured. The Roman's interest, as Warde Fowler remarks, "was centred in the cult rather than in the object of it. . . . He did not speculate on the nature of his *numina*, the priests and the cults were there to keep him in right relation with these manifestations of the Power controlling his life and welfare, and there was an

[1] See Introd. II. [2] Lact. *Div. Inst.* 5. 1. 21.
[3] 5. 1. [4] 1. 3 *discedens*, see note.

end of his interest in it."[1] Respect for paternal authority and reverence for the State were strongly marked Roman characteristics. The Roman accepted the traditional religion with unquestioning reverence because it was the religion of his fathers and was linked with the fortunes of his country. What was new had to pass the supreme test of State approval;[2] and this once secured, it was not for the subject to reason why. If he was pious enough, he made his votive offerings and duly executed all the requirements of ritual, but that on reflection he would have ascribed divinity to all his deities is another question. Faith in the divine character of the protecting powers of State and family, such as Jupiter and Vesta, was perhaps universal.[3] The institutions over which these deities presided were of an abiding nature and the divine presence, as it were, was visibly demonstrated. The Roman was of a practical turn, little given to speculation. He judged by results; his reverence for the gods, in the ultimate analysis, was proportionate to the immediate benefits received. "Gods," says Cicero, "are needed for the maintenance of the social system; without them society would be a chaos."[4] Hence, in the latter days of the Republic, owing to the general insecurity of life and property, a new principle of divinity, blind chance or fate, was worshipped and threatened to overthrow the dominion of the older gods.[5]

Now Caecilius, as he is depicted in the *Octavius*, is typical of the devout pagan of his day. Religious he certainly is, but religious conviction he lacks. At one time he professes faith in the supreme reign of chance,

[1] Warde Fowler, *Roman Ideas of Deity*, p. 11.
[2] See notes, 5. 7 (*religio*).
[3] Warde Fowler, *ibid.* p. 5.
[4] Cic. *N.D.* 1. 2. 3; cf. Aug. *Civ. Dei*, 6. 2.
[5] Warde Fowler, *op. cit.* p. 13.

sceptical about other divinity [1]; and again he is confident of the gods' existence and of their interest in humanity. "They give hope to the downcast," he argues in a fervour of devotion, "help to the needy, consolation in affliction, alleviation in toil." [2] But he has never, it is plain, devoted deep thought to the question. Inquiry into matters that have baffled the ingenuity of philosophers he considers futile for the ordinary individual, resulting, as it well may, in the destruction of all religion. *Quae sunt dubia, ut sunt, relinquenda sunt* [3] is his motto.

The purpose of Minucius, then, is to induce his pagan readers of the class represented by Caecilius to investigate for themselves, trusting to their own resources [4] instead of blindly following tradition. Such investigation, says Octavius, is in accordance with man's very nature, and not the exclusive privilege of any class.[5] The spirit of inquiry once aroused, Minucius felt that sympathy and conviction would follow, as in the case of Caecilius. The *Octavius*, in other words, was intended as an introduction to Christianity, a prolegomenon, rather than as a scientific apology or exhaustive exposition of the Christian religion. If Minucius can demonstrate that Christianity is a rational religion and, as such, has many points in common with ancient philosophy, his object is attained. It was, indeed, difficult for one who had been nurtured in pagan mythology with its highly specialised divinities, where almost every function of life had a deity corresponding, to conceive the existence of an one and only God capable of supervising to the smallest detail the whole universe. Hence the infinite majesty, the greatness and unity of God are insisted upon.[6] The name of Christ is not mentioned, because sonship had only one connotation

[1] 5. 2-7. [2] 7. 6. [3] 13. 5. [4] 22. 7; 24. 8.
[5] 16. 5-6. [6] 18. 7-11; 32.

for the pagan mind, which Minucius is anxious at this stage to purge from all carnal notions concerning divinity. The reflection, too, that a god could have been executed as a criminal would have proved a stumbling-block and a scandal to a people who associated true divinity with power and victory. Such is the recorded experience of St. Paul.[1] The disasters of the Jewish nation bred contempt for their God in the minds of the Romans[2] and the God of the Christians is condemned as a weakling for abandoning his subjects to a fate of poverty and death.[3] The knowledge at this stage that this God himself had perished at the hands of his subjects would have determined the pagan once and for all against a religion that professed such a dogma.

It is a remarkable fact that the Passion of Christ, which afterwards became the dominant theme of Christian art, is not represented in the paintings of the Catacombs; and it is particularly worthy of note that no picture of the Crucifixion appears before the seventh century.[4] These were concessions to pagan prejudice which lingered in the people's mind long after the downfall of paganism itself.

The details of cult, which according to a universal tendency paganism ranked first in its religion with fatal consequences, are omitted by Minucius as a matter of secondary import. True notions of the Godhead rather than of the way of worship are of primary significance.[5] "As for the main point of the inquiry," says Caecilius at the end, "I admit the case concerning providence and I yield as regards God."[6]

[1] 1 *Cor.* 1. 23, *Gal.* 5. 11; cf. 1 St. Peter 2. 8.
[2] 10. 4. [3] 12. 1-6.
[4] See Woltmann and Woermann, *Hist. of Paint.* i. p. 157.
[5] Cf. Lact. *et omnino quid colas interest non quemadmodum colas aut quid precere* (*Div. Inst.* 4. 28). [6] 40. 2.

Nor is the silence of the *Octavius* regarding the Scriptures due to ignorance or unbelief, but to the consciousness, rather, that their authority was of no avail beside that of the pagan masters. Minucius speaks to his readers in language they can understand.[1] Where the word of Matthew, John, or Paul would have fallen short, that of Plato, Cicero, or Seneca was sure to find its mark. Minucius quotes the pagan philosophers to prove the existence and unity of a supreme divine power,[2] to show that Christianity has a true philosophic basis, that it is in genuine succession from Thales, the founder of philosophy. Out of the mouth of paganism paganism is refuted and Christianity is justified.[3] Hence at the conclusion of an argument it is triumphantly stated: "I have expounded the views of almost all the more renowned philosophers . . . so that anyone would think that either now Christians are philosophers or that philosophers even then were Christians."[4] And again: "But it is sufficient for our purpose that even in this matter your philosophers in some sort agree with us."[5] Christianity, in other words, is of a piece with the most ancient philosophy.

Minucius, therefore, administers his knowledge sparingly, not that his instruction was defective but because the treatment of the case demanded slight draughts. He supplies the milk rather than the solid food of Christian doctrine. His reticence and reserve are tactical; and it is to be noted that towards the end of the debate, when the assent of Caecilius is being gained, the language is less restrained and abstract. At an earlier stage he deprecates the applying to God of those useless names of Father, King, or Master,[6] but now he styles him *parentem*

[1] Cf. where Lact. reproaches Cyprian for catering for the faithful alone (*Div. Inst.* 5. 1. 21).
[2] c. 19. [3] 21. 1-9; 24. 1-7; 34; 35. 1-5. [4] 20. 1.
[5] 34. 8. [6] 18. 10.

omnium et omnium dominum.[1] His respect for the philosophers, too, has apparently lessened. Having quoted them with seeming approval and referred to the doctrine of Plato as divine,[2] he now calls Socrates an "Attic buffoon,"[3] and his followers corrupt debauchees who cannot raise their voice against wickedness without reprimanding themselves.[4] The clouds of prejudice, it is to be assumed, were considered dispelled at this stage, and there was occasion for more candid speech.

Another purpose which the *Octavius* served was to disabuse the educated pagan public of the notion that obscurantism was essentially connected with Christianity. Previously to the third century the converts to the new creed belonged for the most part to the lower orders of society. Slaves, freedmen, and artisans, scarcely to be accounted men according to old Roman standards, were among its earliest adherents. There was much poverty and little learning in the Christian community at this time, as the inscriptions in the catacombs show. Hence to the wealthy and educated classes the acceptance of this religious system seemed to entail an absolute break with the traditions of Roman civilisation, a rejection for evermore of philosophy and letters, of the theatre and circus, of everything, in fact, that made life worth living.[5] Now the very form of the *Octavius* and apparently incidental circumstances in the plot were calculated to correct this prevalent notion. The case for paganism is put with such admirable naïveté that some critics think it a mere reproduction of an actual invective against Christianity. The claims of friendship are respected without regard to religious persuasion; the Christians are accompanied by a pagan on their holiday excursion

[1] 35. 4. Cf. Gaston Bossier, *op. cit.* p. 284. [2] 19. 14.
[3] 38. 5. [4] 38. 5. [5] cc. 8 and 12.

and the religious question is introduced only incidentally. The relations between Minucius and Octavius are those of the consecrated classic formula of Sallust.[1] Christians, too, are not insensible to the tender affections of family life: the description of the little one's struggling efforts at speech is especially touching.[1] Nor does the acceptance of Christianity mean neglect of the ordinary duties of life,[2] squandering time or gadding abroad; for Minucius still practises his profession and leaves Rome only during the holiday season when the courts are closed,[3] and Octavius has travelled to Rome in business interests.[4] The inference to be drawn by the pagan reader was that although Christians refused magistracies and offices of dignity from the State and renounced the theatre and other festivities, their lives after all were not bereft of joy, and instead of being the outcasts of society they were reputed to be, they were actually endowed with the affections and social virtues of their fellow-men.

The very title of the work was calculated to ally suspicion. It is neither *pro* nor *contra* either party. The polemical tone is absent; there is neither prejudice nor hostility; a spirit of toleration that breathes the grace and humanity of the old civilisation pervades the whole discussion. The literary merit of the work was calculated in itself to win the sympathy of the educated public for the cause that was advocated. Here surely, pagans might conclude, is a Christian who is capable of appreciating the masterpieces of Greek and Roman letters —for the dialogue teems with classical allusion and reminiscence—one who is at least the equal in style of either Fronto or Apuleius, those lords of literature who

[1] 2. 1.
[2] 12. 7.
[3] 2. 3.
[4] 2. 1.

had held the Christian religion up to ridicule.[1] Lovers of Cicero, too, could not fail to have been attracted by the resemblance of the work of Minucius to the discourse *On the Nature of the Gods.* They would have recognised in Caecilius the counterpart of Cotta, and as Cotta represented the religious views of Cicero himself, the conversion of Caecilius to Christianity might be interpreted as an earnest of the conversion of Cicero, if only the great orator had lived to hear the arguments of Octavius.[2] And what a commendation this for the new religion!

The *Octavius* belonged to a class of apologetic literature that did not command the approbation of Tertullian. He lacked sympathy with the school of Christian writers who emphasised the harmony of Christianity with previous philosophic thought, regarding it as the last stage in the evolution, the final and perfect accomplishment. That violent vindicator of the new faith rejected anything that savoured of compromise. Athens for Tertullian had no kinship with Jerusalem nor the Academy with the Church. He is not at pains to extol the old civilisation or minimise the transition. His appeal is to Roman law, not to reason, good sense or humanity.[3] Both schools of thought are still existent and active in many spheres of life and the justice of their claims is not lightly decided. According to one modern critic, however, the one little dialogue of Minucius has done as much service to the cause of religion as the combined volumes of his African contemporary.

[1] cc. 9 and 31. See Apuleius, *Metam.* 9. 14. Cf. Leclercq, *op. cit.* p. 117.

[2] See Ebert, *Litt. du moyen âge*, i. p. 37 (Fr. transl.); Gaston Boissier, *op. cit.* i. p. 270.

[3] See Leclercq, *op. cit.* i p. 125. Cf. the attitude of Justin and Tatian, Bardenhewer, *Patrology*, p. 58.

IV. MODELS AND SOURCES

The *Octavius* is not an original work in the same sense as the Dialogues of Plato or Cicero. It is modelled on the *De natura deorum* of Cicero who in turn adopted the dialogue form from Plato. Many of the ideas and instances of the *Octavius* are taken directly from the works of Cicero. Caecilius is clearly the counterpart of Cotta, sceptic and pontiff. After Cicero Seneca is the chief source of inspiration. There were many elements common to Christian and Stoic morals and a truth enunciated in the formula of Seneca, apostle of Stoicism, would win commendation with the educated public who were mostly Stoic, without compromising the faith of Christianity. Other Latin writers are represented by way of reminiscence, allusion or reference, sometimes by direct quotation or adaptation, especially Vergil, Lucretius, Ovid, Horace, Juvenal, Martial, Sallust, Florus and Lucan.

With the works of Plato, among Greek writers, Minucius shows a distinct acquaintance. The digression on the merits of debate in Chapter xiv., serving as a transition between the speeches of Caecilius and Octavius, is clearly after Plato, *Phaedo* (pp. 89, 90), being almost a literal translation. There are allusions also to Homer, Hesiod and Xenophon.

To previous Christian writers Minucius is indebted for ideas and arguments. Quadratus, Aristides, Aristo, St. Justin, Tatian, Athenagoras, Theophilus and Irenaeus were his predecessors in the department of Apology. They gave a currency to proofs and illustrations which Minucius naturally adopted, but it cannot be definitely stated that he actually used any of these authors.

The Scriptures are nowhere expressly mentioned (see Introd. III.) but there are many echoes of the Old and New Testament, especially in the second part of the Dialogue where the ethics of Christianity are treated.

The following are the principal passages in which the influence of external sources is more clearly discernible. The reference in each instance is mentioned in the notes:—

I. Ancient Authors. Cicero: *N.D.* Cf. *Oct.* cc. 19. 4-11; 5. 2; 10. 4; 18. 3-4; 6. 1; 6. 3; 7. 3-5; 8. 1-2; 11. 6-7; 13. 1-4; 16. 1; 16. 6; 17. 6-11; 18. 1-2; 21. 1-2; 21. 7; 22. 1; 24. 3; 24. 9; 26. 1; 26. 5; 28. 8; 32. 2; 33. 1; 34. 2; 40. 4. *Tusc.* Cf. 5. 20; 6. 1; 6. 3; 13. 3; 17. 6; 24. 3. *Div.* Cf. 7. 3-4; 8. 1; 24. 3; 26. 6; 36. 3. *Tim.* Cf. 5. 7; 6. 1; 11. 1; 14. 1; 19. 4; 34. 4. *Fin.* Cf. 12. 1; 14. 1; 37. 5. *Legg.* Cf. *Oct.* 6. 1. *Acad.* Cf. 12. 2. *Somn. Scip.* Cf. 2. 1. *De Orat.* Cf. 1. 1.

Seneca: *Prov.* Cf. *Oct.* 5. 12; 36. 4-9; 37. 1-5. *Epp.* Cf. 11. 4; 32. 1; 32. 7; 32. 8; 33. 1; 35. 4; 35. 6; 38. 6. *Superst.* Cf. 22. 9; 23. 1; 25. 8. *Remed. Fort.* Cf. 11. 4. *Quaest. Nat.* Cf. 19. 3; 28. 10. *Benef.* Cf. 28. 10. *Vit. Beat.* Cf. 27. 3.

Vergil: *Aen.* Cf. 1. 2; 3. 3; 5. 6; 5. 10; 6. 2; 7. 4; 16. 3; 18. 6; 19. 1; 19. 3; 21. 5; 24. 6; 26. 8; 35. 2. *Georg.* Cf. 19. 3.

Lucretius: *De Rer. Nat.* Cf. 5. 7-9; 8. 4; 11. 1; 34. 2. Ovid: *Met.* Cf. 5. 8; 11. 1; 17. 1; 17. 3; 20. 4; 21. 2; 24. 5-6. *Fast.* Cf. 16. 3. Horace, *Od.* Cf. 5. 6. Juvenal, *Sat.* Cf. 4. 1; 10. 5; 37. 7. Lucan, *Bell. Phars.* Cf. 5. 12; 18. 6; 27. 3. Martial, *Epigr.* Cf. 22. 5. Catullus, *Carm.* Cf. 2. 4; 3. 3. Sallust: *Cat.* Cf. 1. 3. *Jug.* Cf. 4. 6; 14. 5. Florus, *Epit.* Cf. 7. 3; 18. 6.

Plato: *Phaed.* Cf. 14. 4-7; 35. 1; 34. 6. *Rep.* Cf. 5. 9; 24. 2. *Tim.* Cf. 19. 14; 34. 4. *Sympos.* Cf. 26. 10; 26. 12. *Legg.* Cf. 5. 13. Homer: *Il.* Cf. 4. 1; 24. 3; 19. 1; 24. 5. *Od.* Cf. 19. 1; 24. 6; 35. 2. Xenophon, *Memorab.* Cf. 16. 3; 17. 3; 17. 8; 19. 13.

II. Christian Authors. Justin Martyr: *Apol.* (*circ.* 150). Cf. 9. 5; 11. 7; 18. 10; 19. 4; 20. 1; 22. 1-2; 27. 3; 27. 5; 28. 3; 30. 1; 31. 4-5; 34. 2; 34. 5; 34. 9; 38. 2. *Cohort. ad Graec.* (*circ.* end of 2nd cent.). Cf. 13. 2; 20. 1; 34. 5. Tatian, *Ad Graec.* (*circ.* 165). Cf. 8. 4; 11. 1; 18. 8; 21. 3; 21. 12; 23. 7; 26. 8; 26. 11; 27. 2-3; 27. 5; 31. 2-3; 34. 2; 34. 5; 34. 9. Athenagoras, *Supplicatio*[1] (*circ.* 177). Cf. 19. 10; 20. 1; 21. 3: 21. 12; 22. 2; 23. 7; 27. 1; 27. 3; 30. 1; 30. 6; 31. 2-3; 31. 5; 34. 4; 35. Theophilus, *Ad Autol.* (*circ.* 180). Cf. 8. 4; 9. 5; 11. 7; 12. 5; 19. 8; 21. 4; 21. 12; 22. 2; 27. 5; 30. 6; 34. 5; 34. 9; 34. 11.

III. Sacred Scripture. St. Paul: *Romans.* Cf. 17. 4; 28. 10; 31. 6; 31. 8; 32. 4. *Corinth.* Cf. 11. 7; 29. 3; 32. 1; 32. 8; 34. 11; 36. 5; 37. 11; 38. 1; 38. 4. *Acts.* Cf. 7. 5; 32. 6; 37. 11; 32. 8. *Hebr.* Cf. 32. 8; 36. 8. *Tim.* Cf. 18. 7; 32. 2; 36. 5; 36. 8; *Thessal.* Cf. 35. 4. *Philipp.* Cf. 31. 6. St. John, *Evang.* Cf. 10. 2. St. Matthew, *Evang.* Cf. 36. 5. St. James, *Ep.* Cf. 36. 9. St. Peter, *Ep.* Cf. 38. 4; 31. 8. *Genesis.* Cf. 19. 5. *Psalms.* Cf. 29. 3; 32. 2; 32. 6; 32. 8; 37. 7. *Jerem.* Cf. 17. 9; 29. 3; 32. 6. *Job.* Cf. 17. 9. *Josh.* and *Judges.* Cf. 33. 2.

[1] Judging from the close resemblance between this work and the *Octavius* Ebert thinks Minucius made use of it. See (*Litt. du moyen âge*, i. p. 35) Introd. II.

V. MANUSCRIPTS AND EDITIONS OF THE *OCTAVIUS*

The *Octavius* has reached us through a minuscule manuscript of the ninth century (*Codex Parisinus* 1661), where it appears as the eighth book of Arnobius, *Adversus Nationes.* A copy of the eleventh century (*Codex Bruxellensis* 10847) is of no additional value for the restoration of the text.

The *editio princeps* (*r*) was published by Sabaeus in 1543, who, however, regarded the Dialogue as the eighth book of Arnobius. Baldwin discovered the error in 1560. Among the most notable editions are those of Cellarius (1699), Davies (1707), Gronovius (1709), Lindner (1760), Holden (1853), Halm (1867), Dombart (1876, 1881), Leonard (1882), Baehrens (1886), Boenig (1903), Waltzing (1903, 1909), Schöne (1913).

The Paris MS. (P) contains a number of orthographical errors, omissions, and transpositions, and was considered by earlier critics to be very corrupt. The tendency among latter-day scholars, Schöne excepted, has been towards conservatism.[1]

For an exhaustive bibliography of the *Octavius* the student is referred to Waltzing, *Musée Belge,* 1902, vi. 216–261.

VI. LATINITY OF MINUCIUS FELIX[2]

Cicero and Caesar are the great exponents of classical prose. The language of Plautus and Terence is pure, but it contains forms, constructions, and elements peculiar

[1] The work of Norden (*Gött. gelehrte Anzeigen,* 1904) is noteworthy in this respect.

[2] For a fuller discussion of the matter in this section see Waltzing's edit. (*Partie du Maître*).

to the *sermo vulgaris*, which fell into disuse in literature after their time, and were sedulously excluded by the strictly classical writers.[1] Livy, Sallust, and Cornelius Nepos are still classical, but mark the transition to the imperial epoch. The Latin language during this time was subjected to various influences which resulted in a gradual transformation of its vocabulary and syntax.[2] With the evolution of the political and social world the evolution of the language, if it was to give adequate expression to wholly new ideas, had to keep pace. The stock of words and syntactical constructions that was sufficient for the literary needs of the latter days of the Republic was no longer sufficient in the second century of the Empire. *Latinitas*, says St. Cyprian, *et regione mutatur et tempore*.[3]

The development was partly natural, partly due to the influences of poetry and of the popular speech. The study of Greek literature and of Greek philosophy, especially, created a demand for a new Latin terminology so that abstract ideas hitherto foreign to native thought might find adequate expression in the native tongue. *Imponenda sunt nova rebus novis nomina*, says Cicero.[4] The Latin of the older days was essentially the language of law and government, incomparable for its neatness and conciseness. To become the fitting medium for poetry and metaphysics more pliancy and suppleness, a greater potentiality for forming abstract and compound words were requisite. Cicero and Lucretius laboured to supply this deficiency, but the native resources of the language were scarcely equal to the demands upon it. In the

[1] Cf. *non erit utendum verbis iis quibus iam consuetudo nostra non utitur* (Cic. *De Orat.* 3. 10. 39). *Moneo ut caveatis, ne exilis, ne inculta sit vestra oratio, ne vulgaris, ne obsoleta* (*ibid.* 3. 25. 97); Gell. *N.A.* 1. 10. 4.

[2] See Goelzer, *La Latinité de S. Jérôme*, Introd.

[3] *Ep.* 25.

[4] *Fin.* 3. 1. 3. Cf. Hor. *A.P.* 47 ff.

second century of the Christian era Greek was the literary language of Rome, and its popularity and extensive use necessarily affected the Latin language and idiom. Greek words and constructions crept in and became unconsciously part of the ordinary speech of the Romans.

Another revolutionising force was the influence of the provinces. Colonists as a rule came from the lower classes at Rome,—soldiers, merchants, and adventurers; and their language imperfect in itself, the *plebeius sermo* of the Suburra, became still further corrupted by contact with the indigenous idioms of their adopted country. Gaul, Spain, Africa, and Italy made their influence felt in the language of their conquerors. In Africa especially contact with the native Libyan and Punic dialects so transformed the Latin language that Apuleius found it necessary to relearn it to make himself understood in the Roman capital.[1] A multiplication of composite and derivative words, a tendency to reduce all substantives and verbs to a single type of flexion, a preference for the analytical rather than the synthetical order,—these were some of the commoner features of provincial Latin.[2]

The spread of Christianity in the second century was the most potent revolutionising force in Roman civilisation and institutions. Christianity entailed an alteration of ideals and values. Unlike philosophy its influence affected all classes of the community. A whole host of new conceptions demanded a further remoulding of the language. More particularly, the Roman mind was accustomed to speculation, and the taste for abstract expression was developed.

[1] Apul. *Metam.* 1. 1.

[2] See Paul Monceaux, *Les Africains*, i. pp. 99–114; H. Leclercq, *L'Afrique chrétienne*, i. pp. 88 ff.

The Latin of the *Octavius* reflects the action of these various influences. Within its forty chapters it has been computed that there are two hundred and thirty words in all not found in lexicons of Cicero.[1] Some of these are new words coined by Minucius or introduced by him first into literature. There are many archaisms, Graecisms, poetic expressions and constructions, confusions of simples and compounds, besides a large number of abstract and derivative terms.

A. Vocabulary

1. Archaisms: i.e. words used by the older writers but excluded from classical literature, having survived in the *sermo vulgaris* or been revived in poetry or later prose, e.g. *fragmen* (2. 1); *autumnitas* (2. 2); *ambulacrum* (3. 3); *crispus* (3. 3); *prosapia* (14. 1); *propudium* (29. 2); *figmentum* (24. 8); *cassus* (12. 1); *terriculae* (37. 5); *edulis* (30. 6); *piacularis* (22. 8); *propudiosus* (25. 8); *rationalis* (19. 11); *periniurius* (15. 1); cf. 23. 5; 28. 5; 9. 6; 23. 7; 22. 4; 37. 12; 9. 4; 6. 2; 27. 7; 10. 5; 10. 12; 25. 6, etc. See Notes.

2. New Words — (a) *Semel dicta: intergressus* (15. 2); *notaculum* (31. 8); *multivira* (22. 8); *inexesus* (35. 3); *irrotare* (3. 6); *pudescit, taedescit* (28. 10); *consubsidunt* (40. 2); *paenitenter* (26. 1); *astrangulatus* (30. 2).

(b) *Used here for first time: affirmator* (31. 12); *concatenatus* (17. 2); *detriumphatus* (25. 7); *intererro* (10. 5); *litabilis* (32. 2); *perditio* (27. 2); *reparatio* (17. 16); *physiologicus* (19. 11); *solubilis* (34. 4); *vivifico* (32. 6).

[1] See Waltzing, *Lexicon Minucianus* and art. *Musée Belge*, 1906, pp. 67-74.

3. New Signification of Words—(a) *With special reference to Christianity: angelus* (25. 11); *daemon* (26. 10); *fides* (27. 7); *fratres* (9. 2); *gratia* (27. 7); *providentia* (18. 5); *saeculum* (34. 11); *tirunculi* (9. 5); *carnalis* (18. 10; 32. 6); *ieiunium* (8. 4); *resurgere* (11. 7; 12. 6; 38. 4); *renasci* (11. 2; 20. 3).

(b) *With altered connotation: alumnus* (25. 8) in act. sense; *novellus* (30. 1) for *infans*; *numen* (6. 1) for *numen dei*; *orbis* (6. 2) for *orbis terrarum*; *universitas* (6. 2) for *univ. rerum*; on the other hand *nobilitate generosus* (37. 10), the latter word having lost its orig. signif.; *obire* used absolutely (21. 8; 23. 6; 32. 7); *intendere* for *intendere animum* (7. 8; 17. 11); *venerabilis* in act. sense (6. 1); *assistere* for *adesse* (20. 2); *aspirare* and *infundere* used intrans. (26. 10); similarly *demergit* (34. 11); *discedens* for *decedens* (1. 2); *praecerpere* (7. 6) "to foretell"; *sustinere* (38. 4) for *expectare*; *ventilare* (28. 10) "to circulate"; *publice* for *palam* (31. 6). Words used in their orig. signif. are *ambitio* (4. 6); *felix* (20. 3); *publicus* (*populicus*) for gen. *populi* (19. 10); *prorogare* (13. 14).

4. Derivatives: The *Octavius* contains a great number of derivatives: concrete terms in *-tor* and *-trix*, abstracts in *-io*, *-us*, *-ia*, *-tia*, and *-tas*; words in *-entum*, *-bilis*, *-osus*. In class. Lat. substantives in *-tor* and *-trix* are rarely used except where the action they express is attributed to a person as his inherent characteristic or as giving him a special distinction. The tendency in later writers is to extend their use. Minucius has twenty-five[1] such words: *affirmator* (31. 2); *moderator* (17. 5); *repertor* (16. 5); *nutrix* (23. 3); *venatrix* (23. 5), etc. There are seventy-four substs. in *-io* and sixty-two in

[1] The numbers in each case are taken from Waltzing edit. (*Partie du Maître*).

-us, e.g. *assertio* (38. 1); *exploratio* (5. 5); *libratio* (17. 5); *pollicitatio* (12. 1); *suspectus* (17. 2); *tinnitus* (23. 3); *vagitus* (23. 3), etc. There are forty in *-tia* and seventy-two in *-tas*, e.g. *autumnitas* (2. 3); *ariditas* (34. 11); *nativitas* (18. 7); *unitas* (19. 10); *simplicitas* (16. 2); *versutia* (16. 2). There are sixteen adjs. in *-bilis*, e.g. *favorabilis* (39. 1); *impossibilis* (19. 14); *insolubilis* (34. 4); *inviolabilis* (38. 1); *litabilis* (32. 2), etc.; and seventeen in *-osus*, e.g. *fabulosus* (7. 5); *irreligiosus* (8. 1); *propudiosus* (25. 8); *spumosus* (3. 2), etc. Adjs. in *-atus* and *-itus* are *alatus* (23. 5); *spicatus* (17. 10); *ungulatus* (23. 5); *ignitus* (23. 7), etc. There are many derivative adverbs in *-e*, *-o*, *-ter*, *-tim*, and *-sim*, e.g. *consulte* (8. 3); *incaute* (14. 6); *immerito* (1. 3); *audaciter* (13. 5); *paenitenter* (26. 1); *flagranter* (24. 4), etc. Many of the derivatives occurring are found in classical Latin; it is their large number within the limits of a short dialogue that is noticeable.

5. Simple and Compound Words: A tendency observable as early as Livy of using simples and compounds indiscriminately is more marked in Minucius. Sometimes the compound is used for the simple without having any special force, e.g. *astrangulatus* (30. 2); *confingo* (10. 5; 26. 6); *contego* (9. 5; 11. 4); *coaequo* (7. 3); *concremo* (23. 7); *contestor* (7. 4); *depereo* (5. 10); *delibo* (12. 5); *diffindo* (16. 3); *praemico* (5. 9); *insparsis* (28. 6), etc. Sometimes the simple is used where class. Lat. has the compound, e.g. *capti* for *decepti* (20. 2); *creo* for *procreo* (21. 12); *fluo* for *defluo* (5. 9); *ligo* for *colligo* (23. 4); *orare* for *adorare* (22. 1); *positus* for *depositus* (3. 3); *premo* for *imprimo* (2. 4); *tendi* for *extendi* (3. 3; 17. 5); *voro* for *devoro* (28. 2), etc. Sometimes the usual compound is replaced by another compound, e.g. *eieratus* for *abiuratus* (28. 4); *inculco* for *conculco*

(22. 6; 27. 1); *reclusus* for *inclusus* (25. 12); *reservo* for *conservo* (34. 10; 38. 7); *retorqueo* for *detorqueo* (34. 7), etc.

6. Inceptives and Frequentatives: A characteristic of post-Augustan Latin is the use of inceptives and frequentatives with the signification of the simple verb. There are forty-one inceptives in the *Octavius*, e.g. *ardesco* (34. 4); *coalesco* (5. 7); *dinosco* (31. 8); *indolesco* (5. 4); *sordesco* (19. 4; 37. 10); *torpesco* (36. 8); *pudescit*, *taedescit* (28. 10), etc.; and eighteen frequentatives, *grassor* (8. 2); *desponso* (25. 3); *offenso* (2. 1); *recurso* (17. 6); *repenso* (40. 3), etc.

7. Diminutives: A similar tendency to use the diminutive for the ordinary form is a feature of post-Augustan and Imperial Latin, e.g. *tirunculus* (9. 5); *cellula* (25. 11); *fabella* (9. 5); *navicula* (3. 5; 27. 4); *palmula* (29. 8); *terricula* (37. 5); *notaculum* (31. 8); *vasculum* (23. 4), etc.

8. Poetic Words and Expressions: *limen aequoris* (2. 3); *plantas tingere* (3. 3); *ubertas lactei roris* (18. 2); *vindemia* (5. 13); *caecus* (9. 5); *cani fluctus* (3. 3); *cana seges* (5. 13); *dorsum maris* (3. 6); *labor, senium lunae* (17. 5); *lapsibus exercitis* (17. 9); *eques* (7. 3); *aura bona* (38. 2); *autumni maturitas, hiberna olivitas* (17. 7); *flatus* (3. 3), etc.

B. Forms

1. The gen. sing. of proper names in *-ius* is in *-i* single, as commonly in the Augustan and prae-Augustan period, e.g. *Antoni, Claudi, Flavi, Iuni, Octavi*, etc. The single *-i* occurs in the gens. *obsequi* (4. 6); *plebei* (7. 3); otherwise *-ii*. Propertius and Ovid were the first who wrote *-ii*.

2. The Greek accus. is retained in prop. names, e.g. *Astarten*, *Antisthenen*, *Socraten*, etc. Exc. *Protagoram* (8. 3).

3. *Toto* dat. sing. (11. 1).

4. Archaic forms *haec* (= *hac-ce*) for *hae* (3. 4) and *istaec* for *ista* neut. plur. (40. 1) are found; also *ausim* (7. 1).

5. Some deponent verbs are used passively, e.g. *fabricari* (22. 5; 24. 6; 32. 1; 34. 4); *meditari* (25. 11); *remunerari* (7. 2). Cf. *confessus* (13. 2; 14. 7; 17. 4); *mentitus* (34. 11). On the other hand the passive *deficitur* in act. sense occurs (18. 3, see note); and *placitum* (= *placentem*) 23. 4.

6. For adverbs *proximius* (19. 2) and *audaciter* (13. 5) see notes.

7. *Vulgus* is masc. 2. 4; neut. 18. 11, 22. 1 (see notes).

C. Syntax

(*a*) **Substantives**

1. Abstract Nouns: These are very common in *Octavius*. Abstract ideas are personified and made subj. of the verb, e.g. *intentio mentis resedit* (1. 5); *ferociente victoria* (6. 2); cf. 5. 11; 7. 2; 8. 2; 9. 3; 31. 3, etc.; Cic. uses the abstract sometimes for the concrete, but the tendency in class. Lat. is markedly in favour of the latter.

In class. Lat. the plur. of the abstract subst. is used where Eng. has sing., to denote an action repeated (e.g. *in mare iaculationibus* 2. 3) or to denote that a quality or action is common to several persons or things (e.g. *caedibus sacerdotum* 23. 1). In Imper. Lat. this use is less restricted, e.g. 1. 5; 3. 3; 12. 6; 11. 4; 16. 5; 23. 4, etc.

Minucius uses concrete for abstract: *in homine perseverare* (21. 10); *hominem exuere* (23. 7).

2. Rare plural forms of substs. are found, e.g. *materiae* "material objects" (27. 2; cf. Tac. *H.* 5. 5); *purpurae* "offices of State" (8. 4; 37. 10); *harenae* (3. 3); *cineres* (11. 2); *stercora* (24. 5); but *viscus* for *viscera* (30. 6).

3. The adj. use of substs. in apposition, a use common to Livy and Tac., occurs, e.g. *deos municipes* (6. 1); *numinibus incolis* (7. 6); *dii homines* (21. 3), etc.

(*b*) **Adjectives**

4. The brachylogical use of the adj. for the obj. gen. is far more frequent than in class. Lat., e.g. *anni innocentes* (= *innocentiae*) (2. 1); *iudiciariam* (= *iudiciorum*) *curam* (2. 3); *imperitia vulgaris* (3. 1); *cruentis imbribus* (24. 4); *propinquum sanguinem* (25. 3); *solacia rediviva* (= *vitae futurae*) (8. 5).

5. The subst. use of the adj. is very common.

(a) Masc.: The subst. use of the masc. plur. is quite class., but class. writers rarely use the masc. sing. as subst.

Minucius has *parvulus* (23. 1); *novellus* (30. 1); *ferus* (17. 2); *hodiernum* (21. 7); *crastino* (40. 2).

(b) Neut. sing.: In class. Lat. the use of the neut. sing. of adjs. as substs. is usually restricted to predicates, ambiguity as to gender being avoided. Besides *verum* (14. 4); *rectum* (16. 6); *incertum* (14. 5); *publicum* (10. 2); *alienum* (36. 4), which occur in Cic., Minucius has *de toto* (40. 2); *de toto integro* (4. 4); *de proximo* (27. 7). The neut. of adjs. and pronouns, especially in plur. where distinction of gender is not apparent, is more frequent than in class. Lat., e.g. *isto* (= *ista re*) (18. 11; 31. 2); *istis* (= *istis rebus*) (34. 7); *omnium* (= *omnium*

rerum) (5. 7 ; 10. 1 ; 32 9) ; *singulis* (10. 5) ; *praesentibus* (12. 1) ; *divinis* (16. 6) ; cf. 13. 1 ; 14. 5 ; 29. 4 ; 34. 2 ; 32. 8.

6. The adverbial use of the adj. as secondary predicate is more common than in class. prose, e.g. *tardior pergeret* (13. 4) ; *haeret anxius* (16. 3 ; 17. 9) ; *occulti* (23. 3) ; *anxia, sollicita vestigat* (23. 3) ; *praecipuus miscuit* (24. 3) ; *tacitus evolvo* (40. 1) ; *spontaneos cupere* (11. 6).

7. The combination of posit. and superlat. is noticeable, *boni et fidelissimi* (1. 1) ; of compar. and posit., *imperitioribus et credulis* (8. 4) ; cf. *nequitia* (= *homines nequam*) *melioribus* (5. 11).

(*c*) **Pronouns**

8. Pronouns of the third person are very frequently omitted :

(a) In accus. case after a transit. verb, e.g. *nisi abigatis* (*eos*) (22. 6) ; *sed requirentibus* (*eam*) (24. 8) ; cf. 9. 6 ; 17. 6 ; 29. 1, etc.

(b) As antecedent of the relative, e.g. 5. 1 ; 21. 2 ; 22. 8 ; 22. 9 ; 27. 2 ; 36. 7, etc.

(c) As subject of infin., e.g. 4. 1 ; 16. 2 ; 21. 2 ; 26. 12 ; 34. 10.

Ellipsis of the dat. or gen. occurs, e.g. *induendo* (*eis*) (37. 12) ; *affixi* (*ei*) (29. 7) ; *conscientiam* (*eius rei*) (31. 4). The ellipsis of *nos* and *vos* is notable, (*vos*) *in vestros recurrere* (31. 4) ; *ne quis nos existimet cedere* (38. 1).

9. *Se* and *sibi* are used as reflexives in 1st pers. : *inter se videmur* (18. 1); *sibi* (= *nobis*) *mortuis* (11. 3). *Se* is used as a reciprocal 2. 3 ; 9. 2 ; 17. 10 ; 31. 8. Sometimes *invicem* and *mutuo* take the place of the reflexive, e.g. 11. 2 ; 19. 2 ; 31. 8. Note the pleonasm *cum sua sibi natione* (10. 4).

10. The demonstrative *hic* is sometimes used for *is*, e.g. 8. 2; 21. 10; 33. 4; 38. 2. *Quo . . . hoc* for *quo . . . eo* (16. 6); *hoc . . . quod* for *eo . . . quod* (14. 7; 17. 2; 32. 4; 37. 7); *hic . . . hic* for *hic . . . ille* (40. 4).

11. *Ille* is often used for *is*: (a) Referring to a pers. or thing already mentioned, e.g. 4. 3; 8. 5; 10. 5; 13. 4; 20. 3; 22. 5; 26. 10; 27. 3; 29. 4; 32. 9. (b) As anteced. of the relative, e.g. 21. 12; 22. 7: 27. 4; 28. 10; 29. 2; 29. 4; 30. 1; 32. 3; 36. 4; 38. 2. Note *hominis* for *eius* (1. 1).

12. *Ipse* is a favourite pronoun with Minucius, as equiv. to (a) *idem* 11. 7: (b) *ipse solus* 1. 4; 2. 1; 17. 11; 19. 14; 21. 8; 21. 9; 23. 5, etc.; (c) *ille* or *is* 9. 3; 27. 4; 28. 6; 30. 4; 30. 5. *Et ipse* for *ille quoque* occurs 1. 3; 6. 4; 7. 1; 19. 10; 27. 3; 33. 2; 33. 3. Note the pleonasm *Straton quoque et ipse* (19. 8).

13. *Quicumque* for *quivis* or *quilibet*, a use frequent in Livy and post-Aug. writers, occurs 16. 6; and *quisque* for *quicumque* 13. 1 (cf. Livy 1. 24). Note the form *qui uterque* 8. 2.

(*d*) **Cases**

Accusative

14. The Graecism consisting of accus. of the object after pass. verbs used in mid. sense, frequent in Verg. and occasionally in prose after Sall., occurs: *insitos sapientiam* (16. 5); *equos implexos* (20. 3).

15. The poet. accus. with verbs of the affections, frequent in Tac., is found, e.g. *cibos abhorretis* (12. 5); *contremiscunt* (28. 9); *fleo* (37. 12, cf. Cic. *Sest.* 28. 60).

16. The internal accus. of the neut. adj. occurs: *disserere*

divina (12. 7); *unum paeniteret* (28. 2); after *vivimus* (38. 6), *sapimus* (31. 6). Note the forms *hoc genus cetera* (19. 2); *id temporis* (Cic.) 2. 3

17. The simple accus. follows verbs compounded with a prepos., where the repetition of the prepos. or the dat. would be more regular, e.g. *accesserat* (21. 5; cf. Livy and Sall.); *irruere* (5. 9); *praecellere* (25. 2). *Repetere* takes double accus. (7. 4).

Genitive

18. The partitive gen. is used after neut. sing. of adjs. although in other cases than nom. or accus. (Roby 1296), e.g. *de tenebrarum profundo* (1. 4); *per incertum sortis* (9. 7). This use after an adj. or pron. governed by a prepos. is very rare in earlier Lat. (see Furneaux, Tac. *A.* Introd. c. 5): after neut. plur. *recta montium* (17. 10): *regni universa* (33. 1): *pudenda corporis* (28. 9).

19. The gen. of definition or apposition is very frequent, e.g. *mundi civitas* (17. 12): *mundi domo* (18. 4); *hostiis pecudum* (27. 2); *libidinum religio* (9. 2): *confessae imperitiae prudentia* (13. 2); *appellationum insignia* (18. 10): *signo crucis* (29. 8): *nostri temporis aetate* (38. 7), etc. Frequently this gen. of the subst. takes the place of an adj., e.g. *sacrorum ritus* (6. 1): *hiatum profundae voraginis* (7. 3); *antiquitas imperitorum* (20. 2): *petrarum obices* (4. 5); *impietatis disciplina* (8. 2): *indignationis tumor* (14. 1). Sometimes it is the subst. accompanying the gen. that is equiv. to an adj., e.g. *ariditas desiderii* (2. 3); *imperitiae caecitas* (3. 1); *Iovis monstra* (23. 6); cf. 14. 1; 27. 5; 30. 1; 40. 3.

20. Objective genitive: The gens. *mei*, *nostri*, *sui* are used for the possess. prons. where no special emphasis requires it, e.g. *nostri amore* (1. 3); *odium nostri* (27. 8; cf. 34. 11); *mei victor* (40. 1): *perditionem sui* (27. 2).

The gen. of the remoter obj. corresponding to a prepos. with abl. occurs, e.g. *veritas divinitatis* (= *de divinitate*) (35. 6); *ad fidem numinis* (= *in numine*) (21. 9). Cf. Roby 1318.

This gen. is used irreg. after the verbs *obiurgare* (4. 3); *dominari* (12. 5); *regnare* (21. 8); *miserari* (28. 3); and after the adjs. *habilis* (16. 5); *profugus* (35. 6).

Dative

21. The dative of the agent is used four times after the passive participle, 22. 4; 24. 4; 25. 6; 27. 4: and once after pres. indic. pass., 19. 6, a usage rare in class. prose (Cic. *N.D.* 2. 48; *Tusc.* 4. 19).

22. The dative of the work contemplated, frequent in Livy in gerundival expressions occurs, e.g. *siccandis humoribus* (2. 3); *deliberationi* (13. 4); *ambulacro* (3. 3); cf. 2. 4.

23. Similar is the dative denoting the end to which the action of the verb tends, e.g. *laudi . . . veritati nitatur* (14. 2); cf. *it clamor caelo* (Verg. *A.* 5. 451); *Faliscorum auxilio venerunt* (Livy 4. 17).

24. The dative is used poet. after *appello* (3. 3; cf. Verg. *A.* 3. 715); after *declivis* (40. 2).

Ablative

25. The ablat. of place "whence" without a prepos. is found, *Creta profugus* (21. 5), a use rare in class. Lat., and styled a solecism by Quint. (1. 5. 38), but very frequent in Tac.

26. The ablat. of place "where" without a prepos. is freely used, e.g. 5. 5; 18. 4; 12. 5; 24. 7; 9. 7; 27. 7, etc.

27. The ablat. of attendant circumstances occurs, *incognitis et inexploratis iudicare* (28. 1).

(*e*) **Verbs**

28. Ellipsis of *esse* and its parts is very frequent. The omission of *est*, *erat*, *sunt* and other parts of the indic. mood is notable for its frequency, but regular (see Roby 1442-1444), e.g. 12. 4; 13. 1; 18. 7; 19. 2; 18. 6; 27. 4; 35. 2; 35. 6; 37. 12, etc. The ellipsis of *sum* occurs 40. 2. The omission of *esse* is characteristically frequent outside the regular cases (see Roby 1444). In c. 19 there are eight instances; cf. 8. 2; 9. 4; 21. 4; 26. 12; 28. 5; 38. 5, etc. The omission of *esse* (= *existere*) occurs after *volo*, *nolo* (8. 6; 16. 2; 22. 9; 22. 5); after *videri* (5. 1; 5. 5; 7. 5; 18. 1).

Ellipsis of the subjunct. parts *sit*, *sint*, *essent* occurs 25. 7; 27. 1; 28. 5. Parallel instances occur in Cic. and Tac., but the usage is very rare in prose at all periods.

Moods and Tenses

Infinitive

29. The infinitive as subst., like the Greek infinitive with article, is rather frequent, e.g. *is lusus est testam legere* (3. 6); *illis erat libenter audire* (20. 3); *hoc insultare et illudere est* (25. 6); *cum dimitti . . . haberent in sua potestate* (37. 4).

30. The accus. and infin. is used after verbs not usually taking this constr. in class. prose, e.g. *loquitur* (21. 2; 34. 4); *erumpere* (16. 5); *repugnare* (34. 9); *variare* (16. 2); *erubescere* (22. 2); *perferre* (37. 4). The accus. and infin. after *securus* occurs 36. 9.

31. The simple infin. instead of *ut* and subjunct. is found after *mereo* three times (6. 1; 19. 4; 29. 2);

after *habeo* "ought to" (15. 1). The infin. follows *parco* (14. 2); *despicio* (36. 9) after analogy of *omitto*; *imbuor* = *disco* (6. 1). The infin. instead of *ad* with gerund follows *nati sunt* (17. 2).

32. The epexegetical infin., a Graecism frequent in Tac. and the poets, especially Horace, occurs twice, *concineret eadem velle vel nolle* (1. 3); *praestigias edunt vel quae non sunt videri, vel quae sunt non videri* (26. 10).

Subjunctive

33. The jussive subj. after *nec* occurs 18. 10; 32. 5; 33. 1; 36. 1. Cf. Cic. *Sull.* 8; *Ac.* 2. 46; Livy 23. 3.

34. The perf. subj. of purpose, where class. Lat. has the present, occurs in the phrase *ut prope dixerim* (32. 9, cf. Quint. 1. 6. 1).

35. *Quamquam* is followed by subj. four times (5. 1; 14. 3; 26. 7; 35. 5), while *quamvis* occurs once with indic. (35. 5; cf. Livy 2. 40) and once with subj. (8. 1). *Forsitan* with indic. occurs once (29. 6).

36. The subj. instead of the indic. after *quod* causal in *oratio recta* is found 14. 3; 40. 3; also the subj. after *sed quod* giving the true motive, 34. 5.

37. The subj. follows *si* to denote a case frequently recurring, *si negasset* (28. 4); *qui* (9. 5), a constr. frequent in Livy and later writers but very rare in Cic., Caes. or Sall. (Roby 1716). *Si* with subj. follows *indignari*, *dolere* (16. 6), a feature, probably, of the *sermo vulgaris*. For subj. with *quantum* (6. 3) see note.

(*f*) Adverbs and Conjunctions

38. The use of *cum maxime* (2. 2; 14. 2) and *cum praecipue* (17. 2) for *cum praesertim* (37. 4) is to be noted.

39. *Et* sometimes has an adversative force (= *et*

tamen), e.g. 26. 3; 28. 8; 35. 6, etc. It frequently stands for *etiam* or *quoque*, a usage found in Livy but rare in Cic., e.g. 2. 3; 7. 3: 17. 5; 19. 3; 19. 15: 21. 2, etc. Its use in the correlative in this sense is noticeable, e.g. 25. 6; 27. 3. Cf. Juv. *S.* 3. 143; Tert. *Contra Gnost.* 1; Cypr. *De Opere,* 18. *Et* is sometimes misplaced, *et sacra Romana* (= *et Romana*) (23. 2); cf. 25. 6; 28. 6; 40. 4.

40. *Interim* is used in the post-class. sense of "sometimes" (19. 11; 27. 1): "for the moment" (7. 1); "at one time . . . at another" (16. 2; 19. 9).

41. *Licet* is used with an adj. like *quamvis*, e.g. *multis licet* (20. 1); *licet fallacissimi* (38. 5). The usage is poet. (Ov. *M.* 15. 62; Prop. 5. 11. 17.)

42. *Neque* = *ne . . . quidem* occurs 29. 1; as frequent in Livy; doubtful in Cic. *Ac.* 1. 2. 7; *Tusc.* 1. 26. 65. As = *neque tamen* 4. 6; 12. 3; 15. 2; 32. 5; 37. 6.

43. *Publice* for *palam* (31. 6), as frequently in post-Aug. Lat.

44. *Non . . . saltem* for *ne . . . quidem* (10. 3, cf. Tac. *A.* 3. 5. 5); rare in Livy.

45. *Solummodo* for the class. *tantummodo*, a usage frequent in late Lat., occurs 18. 3; 28. 2; 35. 6.

(*g*) **Prepositions**

46. *Absque* for *sine* is freely used, e.g. 12. 5; 22. 8; 27. 3, etc. This usage occurs frequently in Fronto and Gellius, but only in a few phrases in Plaut. and once in Cic. (*Att.* 1. 19. 1).

47. *Adusque* for *usque ad* (29. 8) is poet. and post-class.

48. *De*: A feature of post-class. Lat. very noticeable in Minucius is the substitution of a prepositional phrase

for the genit. of a subst. or for an adj. *Ad*, *cum*, *in* and *de* are thus construed in the *Octavius*, *de* being the favourite preposit. Frequently the qualified subst. is a verbal one, e.g. *suspectus in caelum* (17. 2); *de lavacris curatio* (2. 3); cf. 3. 5; 9. 6; 22. 4, etc.; or a participle is understood, e.g. *de Perse victoriam* (7. 3): *de gentibus tropaea* (25. 6); *in Ganymeden stuprum* (24. 7); cf. 7. 4; 37. 11, etc. The construction is more freely used where the subst. has no verbal signification, e.g. *ad vindemiam feriae* (2. 3): *de harena feras* (31. 6); *de matrimonio mulierculas* (25. 3); *de libris memoriam* (7. 2); *omne infinitum cum mente* (19. 7).

Parallels can be found in class. Lat. for many of the constructions of *de* that occur, but its use in Imperial Lat. is much more extended:—

(a) Denoting "motion from" instead of *ex* or *ab*, 1. 4; 24. 2; 27. 5. *De itinere* (4. 5) "after the journey"; cf. Cic. *Att.* 12. 3.

(b) Denoting origin or derivation, e.g. 2. 3; 7. 2; 7. 5; 18. 5; 29. 1; 31. 6, etc.

(c) Indicating the quarter from which action proceeds, and hence the means, e.g. *ludorum de somnio iteratio* (7. 3); *de equorum hinnitu augurantes imperium* (18. 6); *initiari de caede et sanguine* (30. 1), etc. Cf. Cic. *nihil de insidiis agendum putant* (*Off.* 1. 30. 109).

(d) Indicating the producing cause or reason of a thing, e.g. *de suis dictis meruerunt* (19. 4); *de vestro numero carcer exaestuat* (35. 6); *de praesenti actione* (14. 3); cf. 4. 1; 33. 1, etc. Cf. Cic., *flebat non de suo supplicio* (*Verr.* 2. 1. 30).

(e) *De* with ablat. instead of partit. or obj. gen. is a rare construction in class. Lat., used only to avoid ambiguity or for precision (Cic. *Verr.* 2. 1. 12; *Tusc.* 4. 7. 16), e.g. *de oraculo testimonium* (13. 2); *de vestra*

veneratione cultura (32. 4); cf 25. 6, etc. It is a feature of comic writers and the *sermo vulgaris*.

D. Style

Fronto of Cirta[1] (*circ.* 100–175 A.D.), orator, consul and master of two emperors, enjoyed a great reputation in his day. He was worshipped as the king of letters by the literary men of the time, foremost among whom was the emperor Marcus Aurelius. Fronto claimed to have founded a new Latin style, modelled on that of Cato, the Gracchi, Galba and Sallust. His first concern was to enrich the vocabulary of the written language by bringing forth from the storehouses of the old authors words long since obsolete, by drawing on the poets, especially Plautus, Ennius, Lucilius, and Lucretius, by adopting into literature words and constructions of the *sermo vulgaris*, by borrowing from the Greek, and lastly by coining, as occasion required, a new Latin terminology. So far Fronto rendered a genuine service to the Latin language. The evil of his influence consisted in sacrificing everything to form. In his opinion the chief function of a writer lay in the choice and manipulation of words; and he gives elaborate rules for their arrangement.[2] Fronto was a word artist. The matter of the speech was of minor importance; truth was a mere detail.[3] Effect, the elements of surprise and unexpectedness—these, according to Fronto, were the notes of literary greatness;[4] and he censured the speeches of Cicero because they lacked these qualities.[5] The result was a hollow, artificial style bedecked with rhetorical figures.

[1] See Paul Monceaux, *Les Africains*, p. 212 ff.
[2] *Ad M. Antonin. de eloq.* (Naber p. 139).
[3] *Ad M. Caesar.* 2. 3 (p. 29).
[4] *ibid.* 3. 1; 8. 11; 5. 3, etc.
[5] *ibid.* 4. 3; 1. 8; 2. 1.

The influence of Fronto's school on Minucius is discernible in the latter's liberal use of archaisms, neologisms and Graecisms, in his abuse of figures such as antithesis (e.g. between words 8. 4; 10. 4; 12. 5; 12. 7; 13. 3; 18. 6, etc.; between ideas 9. 7; 10. 2; 11. 6; 12. 7; 19. 4; 31. 5; 33. 3; 35. 6; 37. 6, etc.); chiasmus (5. 1; 5. 6; 6. 1; 7. 6; 9. 6; 10. 2; 17. 8; 19. 9; 21. 1; 23. 2; 33. 3; 36. 9); anaphora (6. 2; 7. 3; 12. 3; 22. 7; 24. 3; 37. 1, etc.); alliteration and paronomasia (*fluere, flare* 5. 9; *miserentur miseri* 8. 4; *mori post mortem* 8. 5; *sacra sacrilegiis* 9. 5; *puniendum . . . pudendum* 10. 2; cf. 23. 1; 26. 8; 27. 2; 36. 7, etc.); assonance (*spumantibus, fumantibus* 7. 3; *cautelam, medellam, spem, opem* 7. 6; cf. 12. 2; 14. 7; 25. 6; 34. 3; 37. 3, etc.); synonyms (e.g. *transacta et decursa* 1. 1; *insano atque inepto* 5. 6; *vana et demens* 9. 2; *cineres et favillas* 11. 2; *morbi et malae valetudines* 25. 8; cf. 3. 3; 8. 4; 9. 4; 16. 4; 23. 3; 25. 1; 29. 1; 10. 2; 11. 2; 16. 4; 32. 7, etc.); in his preference for unusual forms of diction (e.g. *perpes* 11. 5; *nidificare* 22. 6; *cantabrum* 29. 7; *hodieque* 21. 11, etc.); for pleonasms and periphrases (e.g. *ut potero pro viribus* 16. 1; *eandem emensi viam rursus versis vestigiis terebamus* 3. 5; *quisque vestrum tantus est, si poterit* 13. 1; *utilitati profuerunt* 21. 2, etc.; *petrarum obices* for *moles* 4. 5; *ubertas lactei roris* for *lac* 18. 3; *crispis tortuosisque erroribus* for *fluctus* 3. 3, etc.); for poetic colouring and imagery (1. 3; 2. 1; 3. 3; 2. 4; 3. 2; 3. 5-6; 5. 7-9, etc.).

The philosophic depth of Minucius, however, saved him from the worst effects of Fronto's influence. Fronto openly avowed his hatred of philosophy.[1] Minucius, on the contrary, was an admirer of Plato[2]; and the incisive

[1] *Ad M. Antonin. de eloq.* (Naber p. 150); cf. *De Feriis Alsiensibus.* p. 227. [2] *Oct.* 19. 14.

sententiousness, the love of paradox and satiric verve of his style point to an appreciation and study of Seneca (e.g. 12. 6; 5. 9: 7. 1; 8. 1; 9. 5; 24. 18, etc.). In the second part of the Dialogue especially, where Stoic doctrine is quoted in defence of Christianity, the influence of Seneca is manifest.[1]

The influence of the older classics, of Cicero especially, is also discernible. Even in his own age, we know, the superiority of Fronto was not unquestioned. Marcus Aurelius, his favourite pupil, rejected Latin in favour of Greek as a medium of composition.[2] Minucius, perhaps, was a pioneer of neo-Ciceronianism. The well-balanced rhythmical period and choice of metrical clauses, characteristic of Cicero's best polemic style, are observable in the *Octavius*. The favourite Ciceronian figures of asyndeton[3] (2. 1; 4. 1; 5. 8; 12. 7; 19. 2; 16. 5; 17. 4; 11. 3, etc.); praeteritio (13. 4; 17. 7; 18. 2; 22. 7; 23. 5, etc.), and inversion (e.g. *resedit intentio* 1. 5; *augeret praesentia* 2. 2; *animal omne* 5. 8; *corporibus quibus* 11. 7; *in illo praecipue sermone* 1. 5; *investigandae penitus veritatis* 5. 9; cf. 4. 3: 7. 3; 9. 1; 13. 3; 3. 4; 40. 2, etc.) frequently recur.

A symmetrical arrangement of words and phrases is one of the most distinctive characteristics of the style of Minucius. Syntax and even sense are sometimes sacrificed to symmetry (e.g. *obiurgavit neglegentiae* to correspond with *argueret inscientiae* 4. 3; *exploratio divina* to correspond with *humana mediocritas* 5. 5; *de diis spolia* with *de gentibus tropaea* 25. 6; *nec morte finitur* with *dolore deseritur* 37. 3; *in hiberno* with *in saeculo* 34. 11, etc.). But Minucius studies variety also, either

[1] See Burger, *M. Felix und Seneca* (Munich 1904).

[2] *Ad M. Caesar.* 4. 13; M. Aurel. *De rebus suis*, 1. 7.

[3] Asyndeton with two members, rare in class. prose, is frequent in the *Oct.*, e.g. 4. 4; 5. 4; 11. 3; 12. 3; 22. 7, etc.

by a change of terms and construction (e.g. *supra nos, infra terram* 5. 4; *ex altera parte, ex altero latere* 14. 7); or by using the abstract and concrete together (e.g. *asseverationibus . . . peritioribus* 14. 5; *nequitia melioribus* 5. 11); by a change of tense or mood (e.g. *timeas, metueris* 27. 8; *egisse . . . geritis* 28. 5; cf. 18. 10; 24. 4; 24. 5, etc.); by a choice of correlatives and adverbs (e.g. *sive, sive . . . vel, vel* 34. 10; *nonnunquam . . . interim* 27. 1; *modo; modo . . . plerumque* 19. 10); and frequently variety is secured by means of inversion.

It must not be assumed that the work of Minucius is merely the product of these various influences and that the element of originality is lacking. Individuality, on the contrary, was a feature of all the African writers.[1] Minucius is a stylist, a conscious artist who appreciated the value of form while rejecting the false canons of Fronto. He tempers symmetry with variety, oratorical fulness with brevity and concision. The result is a style of writing fresh, picturesque, rich, harmonious and complex.

E. Other Figures

Other figures that frequently occur in the *Octavius* besides those mentioned are: Ellipsis (see under Pronoun and Verb); Litotes (1. 3; 3. 1; 5. 5; 9. 2; 37. 12); Hypallage (e.g. *hac spectaculi voluptate* 4. 1; cf. 8. 4; 16. 1; 35. 3); Conversion (e.g. *aut nunc Christianos philosophos esse aut philosophos fuisse iam tunc Christianos* 20. 1; cf. 10. 5; 18. 9; 22. 1; 22. 2).

F. Metrical Clauses[2]

From the time of Cicero rhythmical cadence was considered one of the essentials of Latin prose.[3] In Minucius,

[1] See Paul Monceaux, *op. cit.* p. 103 ff.

[2] See Bornecque, "Les clausules métriques dans M. Felix" (*Musée Belge*, vii. (1903) pp. 247 ff.); Ausserer, *De Clausul. Minuc.* (Innsbruck 1906).

[3] *Sunt clausulae plures quae numerose et iucunde cadunt* (Cic. *Orat.* 2. 13).

as is to be expected in a writer whose diction is frequently poetical, there is a constant recurrence of metrical clauses. There are four main clauses assuming various forms by resolution of the long syllables:

1. A cretic and spondee or trochee (– ⏑ – | – –), e.g. *nuntiaverunt* 7. 3. Forms are: (*a*) ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ – | – –, e.g. *merita confusa* 5. 10; (*b*) – ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ | – –, e.g. *signa repetamus* 7. 4; (*c*) – ⏑ – | ⏑ ⏑ –, e.g. *ambiti*]*one protegerent* 4. 6; cf. 7. 5; 6. 1. This is the favourite clause of Minucius, occurring 322 times.[1]

2. A double cretic (– ⏑ – | – ⏑ –), e.g. *aeternita*]*tem repromittere* (11. 3). Derived forms are: (*a*) ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ – | – ⏑ –, e.g. *ap*]*posita curatio* 2. 3; (*b*) – ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ | – ⏑ –, e.g. *esse sapientiam* 16. 5; (*c*) ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ | – ⏑ –, e.g. *con*]*serere sapientiam* (4. 4). There are 178 instances of this clause.

3. A double trochee (– ⏑ | – ⏑), e.g. *dissipatur* (5. 8), preceded by a cretic (5. 8): a dactyl (1. 2); a molossus (7. 3); a choriambus (4. 6); a double spondee (11. 5); or a double trochee (19. 15). This clause occurs 139 times.

4. A trochee and a cretic (– ⏑ | – ⏑ –), e.g. *inscientiae* (3. 3). This clause occurs 12 times.

The striving after a metrical clause influenced the syntax and style of Minucius, e.g. the expressions *alluderet fluctus* (3. 3); *signa repetamus* (7. 4); *libenter audire* (20. 3); *plangit inquirit* for *conquirit* (21. 1): *structor accepit* for *accipit* (24. 5); *de servientibus* (for *servis*) *reges* (33. 3); *religionis aut profugus* (35. 6), *aut* displaced; *et esse mortalem* (34. 4), *et* displaced; *osculum labiis pressit* (2. 4) for *impressit*, etc. And sometimes the establishing of the clause is a clue to the correction of the text. e.g. 19. 10; 19. 11; 36. 2, etc.

[1] The numbers are taken from Ausserer.

M. MINUCII FELICIS OCTAVIUS

CHAPTER I

Minucius in a reminiscent mood recalls many incidents of a close friendship with Octavius, and especially the discussion which led to the conversion of Caecilius.

Cogitanti mihi et cum animo meo Octavi boni et 1
fidelissimi contubernalis memoriam recensenti, tanta
dulcedo et affectio hominis inhaesit, ut ipse quodammodo
mihi viderer in praeterita redire, non ea quae iam
transacta et decursa sunt recordatione revocare: ita eius 2
contemplatio, quantum subtracta est oculis, tantum pectori
meo ac paene intimis sensibus implicata est. Nec 3
immerito discedens vir eximius et sanctus immensum sui
desiderium nobis reliquit, utpote cum et ipse tanto nostri
semper amore flagraverit, ut et in ludicris et seriis pari
mecum voluntate concineret, eadem velle vel nolle:
crederes unam mentem in duobus fuisse divisam. Sic 4
solus in amoribus conscius, ipse socius in erroribus: et
cum discussa caligine de tenebrarum profundo in lucem
sapientiae et veritatis emergerem, non respuit comitem,
sed quod est gloriosius, praecucurrit. Itaque, cum per 5
universam convictus nostri et familiaritatis aetatem mea

cogitatio volveretur, in illo praecipue sermone eius mentis meae resedit intentio, quo *Q.* Caecilium superstitiosis vanitatibus etiamnunc inhaerentem disputatione gravissima ad veram religionem reformavit.

CHAPTER II

An excursion to Ostia on the occasion of Octavius's visit to Rome. Caecilius salutes a statue of Serapis.

1 Nam negotii et visendi mei gratia Romam contenderat, relicta domo, coniuge, liberis, et—quod est in liberis amabilius—adhuc annis innocentibus et adhuc dimidiata verba temptantibus, loquelam ipso offensantis linguae
2 fragmine dulciorem. Quo in adventu eius non possum exprimere sermonibus, quanto quamque impatienti gaudio exultaverim, cum augeret maxime laetitiam meam amicissimi hominis inopinata praesentia.

3 Igitur post unum et alterum diem, cum iam et aviditatem desiderii frequens assiduitatis usus implesset et quae per absentiam mutuam de nobis nesciebamus, relatione alterna comperissemus, placuit Ostiam petere, amoenissimam civitatem, quod esset corpori meo siccandis umoribus de marinis lavacris blanda et apposita curatio. Sane et ad vindemiam feriae iudiciariam curam relaxaverant. Nam id temporis post aestivam diem in temperiem semet autumnitas dirigebat.

4 Itaque cum diluculo ad mare inambulando litori pergeremus, ut et aura aspirans leniter membra vegetaret et cum eximia voluptate molli vestigio cedens harena subsideret, Caecilius simulacro Serapidis denotato, ut vulgus superstitiosus solet, manum ori admovens osculum labiis pressit.

CHAPTER III

Octavius ridicules Caecilius's act of worship. The latter resents the insult to his religion, remains gloomy and silent during the walk on the strand, and takes no interest in the boys' game which they stand to witness.

Tunc Octavius ait: "non boni viri est, Marce frater, 1
hominem domi forisque lateri tuo inhaerentem sic in hac
imperitiae vulgaris caecitate deserere, ut tam luculento
die in lapides eum patiaris impingere, effigiatos sane et
unctos et coronatos, cum scias huius erroris non minorem
ad te quam ad ipsum infamiam redundare."

Cum hoc sermone eius medium spatium civitatis 2
emensi iam liberum litus tenebamus. Ibi harenas 3
extimas, velut sterneret ambulacro, perfundens lenis
unda tendebat; et, ut semper mare etiam positis flatibus
inquietum est, etsi non canis spumosisque fluctibus
exibat ad terram, tamen crispis torosisque: ibidem er-
roribus delectati perquam sumus, cum in ipso aequoris
limine plantas tingueremus, quod vicissim nunc appulsum
nostris pedibus alluderet fluctus, nunc relabens ac vestigia
retrahens in sese resorberet. Sensim itaque tranquilleque 4
progressi oram curvi molliter litoris iter fabulis fallen-
tibus legebamus. Haec fabulae erant Octavi disserentis
de navigatione narratio. Sed ubi eundi spatium satis 5
iustum cum sermone consumpsimus, eandem emensi
viam rursus versis vestigiis terebamus, et cum ad id
loci ventum est, ubi subductae naviculae substratis
roboribus a terrena labe suspensae quiescebant, pueros
videmus certatim gestientes testarum in mare iacula-
tionibus ludere. Is lusus est testam teretem iactatione 6

fluctuum levigatam legere de litore, eam testam plano situ digitis comprehensam inclinem ipsum atque humilem quantum potest super undas irrotare, ut illud iaculum vel dorsum maris raderet enataret, dum leni impetu labitur, vel summis fluctibus tonsis emicaret emergeret, dum assiduo saltu sublevatur. Is se in pueris victorem ferebat, cuius testa et procurreret longius et frequentius exsiliret.

CHAPTER IV

Caecilius questioned as to his dejection admits his resentment and challenges Octavius to a discussion. Minucius is judge.

1 Igitur, cum omnes hac spectaculi voluptate caperemur, Caecilius nihil intendere neque de contentione ridere, sed tacens, anxius, segregatus dolere nescio quid vultu
2 fatebatur. Cui ego: "Quid hoc est rei? cur non agnosco, Caecili, alacritatem tuam illam et illam oculorum etiam
3 in seriis hilaritatem requiro?" Tum ille: "Iam dudum me Octavi nostri acriter angit et remordet oratio, qua in te invectus obiurgavit neglegentiae, ut me dissimulanter
4 gravius argueret inscientiae. Itaque progrediar ulterius: de toto integro mihi cum Octavio res est. Si placet, ut ipsius sectae homo cum eo disputem, iam profecto intelleget facilius esse in contubernalibus disputare quam
5 conserere sapientiam; modo in istis ad tutelam balnearum iactis et in altum procurrentibus petrarum obicibus residamus, ut et requiescere de itinere possimus et intentius disputare."

6 Et cum dicto eius assedimus, ita ut me ex tribus medium lateris ambitione protegerent; nec hoc obsequi fuit aut ordinis aut honoris, quippe cum amicitia pares

semper aut accipiat aut faciat, sed ut arbiter et utrisque proximus aures darem et disceptantes duos medius segregarem.

CHAPTER V

§§ 1-6. *Caecilius begins the argument with an appeal to Minucius to hold the balance evenly. He expresses surprise that ignorant men of no standing should give a definite opinion on matters that have baffled philosophers in every age.*

Tum sic Caecilius exorsus est: "Quamquam tibi, 1
Marce frater, de quo cum maxime quaerimus non sit
ambiguum, utpote cum diligenter in utroque vivendi
genere versatus repudiaris alterum, *alterum* comprobaris,
impraesentiarum tamen ita tibi informandus est animus,
ut libram teneas aequissimi iudicis nec in alteram partem
propensus incumbas, ne non tam ex nostris disputationi-
bus nata sententia quam ex tuis sensibus prolata videatur.
Proinde si mihi quasi novus aliqui et quasi ignarus partis 2
utriusque considas, nullum negotium est patefacere, omnia
in rebus humanis dubia, incerta, suspensa magisque
omnia verisimilia quam vera. Quo magis mirum est 3
nonnullos taedio investigandae penitus veritatis cuilibet
opinioni temere succumbere quam in explorando per-
tinaci diligentia perseverare. Itaque indignandum 4
omnibus, indolescendum est audere quosdam, et hoc
studiorum rudes, litterarum profanos, expertes artium
etiam sordidarum, certum aliquid de summa rerum
ac maiestate decernere, de qua tot omnibus saeculis
sectarum plurimarum usque adhuc ipsa philosophia
deliberat. Nec immerito, cum tantum absit ab ex- 5
ploratione divina humana mediocritas, ut neque quae
supra nos caelo suspensa sublata sunt neque quae

infra terram profunda demersa sunt, aut scire sit
datum aut scrutare permissum aut stuprari religiosum,
et beati satis satisque prudentes iure videamur, si
secundum illud vetus sapientis oraculum nosmet ipsos
6 familiarius noverimus. Sed quatenus indulgentes
insano atque inepto labori ultra humilitatis nostrae
terminos evagamur et in terram proiecti caelum
ipsum et ipsa sidera audaci cupiditate transcendimus
vel hunc errorem saltem non vanis et formidulosi
opinionibus implicemus.

§§ 7-13. *Caecilius argues: According to the theory of Epicurus chance and not divine providence rules the world. On what other hypothesis can the indiscriminate fate of the good and wicked be explained?*

7 Sint principio omnium semina natura in se coeunte
densata, quis hic auctor deus? Sint fortuitis concursioni-
bus totius mundi membra coalita, digesta, formata, quis
deus machinator? Sidera licet ignis accenderit et caelum
licet sua materia suspenderit licet terram fundaverit pon-
dere et mare licet influxerit e liquore, unde haec religio,
8 unde formido, quae superstitio est? Homo et animal
omne quod nascitur, inspiratur, attollitur, elementorum
ut voluntaria concretio est, in quae rursum homo et
animal omne dividitur, solvitur, dissipatur: ita in fontem
refluunt et in semet omnia revolvuntur, nullo artifice, nec
9 iudice, nec auctore. Sic congregatis ignium seminibus
soles alios atque alios semper splendere, sic exhalatis
terrae vaporibus nebulas semper adolescere, quibus
densatis coactisque nubes altius surgere, isdem labentibus
pluvias fluere, flare ventos, grandines increpare, vel
nimbis collidentibus tonitura mugire, rutilare fulgura,
fulmina praemicare: adeo passim cadunt, montes irruunt,

arboribus incurrunt, sine dilectu tangunt loca sacra et
profana, homines noxios feriunt et saepe religiosos. Quid 10
tempestates loquar varias et incertas, quibus nullo ordine
vel examine rerum omnium impetus volutatur? in nau-
fragiis bonorum malorumque fata mixta, merita confusa?
in incendiis interitum convenire insontium nocentiumque?
et cum tabe pestifera caeli tractus inficitur, sine dis-
crimine omnes deperire? et cum belli ardore saevitur,
meliores potius occumbere? In pace etiam non tantum 11
aequatur nequitia melioribus, sed et colitur, ut in pluribus
nescias, utrum sit eorum detestanda pravitas an optanda
felicitas. Quod si mundus divina providentia et ali- 12
cuius numinis auctoritate regeretur, numquam mereretur
Phalaris et Dionysius regnum, numquam Rutilius et
Camillus exsilium, numquam Socrates venenum. Ecce 13
arbusta frugifera, ecce iam seges cana, iam temulenta
vindemia imbri corrumpitur, grandine caeditur. Adeo
aut incerta nobis veritas occultatur et premitur, aut,
quod magis credendum est, variis et lubricis casibus
soluta legibus fortuna dominatur.

CHAPTER VI

In a matter so uncertain it is better to adhere to tradition. The greatness of Rome proves the greatness of her gods.

Cum igitur aut fortuna certa aut incerta natura sit, 1
quanto venerabilius ac melius antistitem veritatis maiorum
excipere disciplinam, religiones traditas colere, deos, quos
a parentibus ante imbutus es timere quam nosse fami-
liarius, adorare, nec de numinibus ferre sententiam, sed
prioribus credere, qui adhuc rudi saeculo in ipsius mundi
natalibus meruerunt deos vel faciles habere vel reges!

Inde adeo per universa imperia, provincias, oppida videmus singulos sacrorum ritus gentiles habere et deos colere municipes, ut Eleusinios Cererem, Phrygas Matrem, Epidaurios Aesculapium, Chaldaeos Belum, Astarten Syros, Dianam Taurios, Gallos Mercurium, *numina*
2 universa Romanos. Sic eorum potestas et auctoritas totius orbis ambitus occupavit, sic imperium suum ultra solis vias et ipsius Oceani limites propagavit, dum exercent in armis virtutem religiosam, dum urbem muniunt sacrorum religionibus, castis virginibus, multis honoribus ac nominibus sacerdotum, dum obsessi et citra solum Capitolium capti colunt deos, quos alius iam sprevisset iratos, et per Gallorum acies, mirantium superstitionis audaciam, pergunt telis inermes, sed cultu religionis armati, dum captis in hostilibus moeniis adhuc ferociente victoria numina victa venerantur, dum undique hospites deos quaerunt et suos faciunt, dum aras exstruunt *inter*dum etiam ignotis numinibus et manibus.
3 Sic dum universarum gentium sacra suscipiunt, etiam regna meruerunt. Hinc perpetuus venerationis tenor mansit, qui longa aetate non infringitur, sed augetur: quippe antiquitas caerimoniis atque faris tantum sanctitatis tribuere consuevit quantum astruxerit vestustatis.

CHAPTER VII

§§ 1-4. *The Romans are justified in honouring their gods, if there are any gods. Their gods have requited religious observance with success, irreligion with disaster.*

1 Nec tamen temere (ausim enim interim et ipse concedere et sic melius errare) maiores nostri aut observandis auguriis aut extis consulendis aut institu-

endis sacris aut delubris dedicandis operam navaverunt.
Specta de libris memoria*m* : iam eos deprehendes initiasse 2
ritus omnium religionum, velut remuneraretur divina
indulgentia, vel ut averteretur imminens ira aut iam
tumens et saeviens placaretur. Testis mater Idaea, quae 3
adventu suo et probavit matronae castitatem et urbem
metu hostili liberavit; testes equestrium fratrum in lacu,
sic*ut se* ostenderant, statuae consecratae, qui anheli
spumantibus equis atque fumantibus de Perse victoriam
eadem die, qua fecerunt, nuntiaverunt; testis ludorum
offensi Iovis de somn*i*o plebei hominis iteratio; et De-
ciorum devotio rata testis est; testis et Curtius, qui
equitis sui vel mole vel honore hiatum profundae
voraginis coaequavit. Frequentius etiam, quam vole- 4
bamus, deorum praesentiam contempta auspicia contestata
sunt. Sic Allia "nomen infaustum," sic Claudi et Iuni
non proelium in Poenos, sed ferale naufragium est, et ut
Trasimenus Romanorum sanguine et maior esset et
decolor, sprevit auguria Flaminius, et ut Parthos signa
repetamus, dirarum imprecationes Crassus et meruit et
irrisit.

§§ 5-6. *The gods are present in our temples, present in our prophets. We can see them in our sleep.*

Omitto vetera quae multa sunt, et de deorum 5
natalibus, donis, muneribus neglego carmina poetarum,
praedicta etiam de oraculis fata transilio, ne vobis
antiquitas nimium fabulosa videatur. Intende templis
ac delubris deorum, quibus Romana civitas et protegitur
et ornatur: magis sunt augusta numinibus incolis, prae-
sentibus, inquilinis quam cultu, insignibus et muneribus
opulenta. Inde adeo pleni et mixti deo vates futura 6
praecerpunt, dant cautelam periculis, morbis medelam,
spem afflictis, opem miseris, solacium calamitatibus,

laboribus levamentum. Etiam per quietem deos videmus, audimus, agnoscimus, quos impie per diem negamus, nolumus, peieramus.

CHAPTER VIII

If philosophers have got no hearing when they denied the existence of our gods, is it not intolerable that a gullible, unsocial, impious, contemptuous, and vulgar rabble should assail our religion?

1 Itaque cum omnium gentium de dis immortalibus, quamvis incerta sit vel ratio vel origo, maneat tamen firma consensio, neminem fero tanta audacia tamque irreligiosa nescio qua prudentia tumescentem, qui hanc religionem tam vetustam, *tam* utilem, tam salubrem
2 dissolvere aut infirmare nitatur. Sit licet ille Theodorus Cyrenaeus, vel qui prior Diagoras Melius, cui Atheon cognomen apposuit antiquitas, qui uterque nullos deos adseverando timorem omnem, quo humanitas regitur, venerationemque penitus sustulerunt: numquam tamen in hac impietatis disciplina simulatae philosophiae nomine
3 atque auctoritate pollebunt. Cum Abderiten Protagoram Athenienses viri consulte potius quam profane de divinitate disputantem et expulerint suis finibus et in contione eius scripta deusserint, quid? homines (sustinebitis enim me impetum susceptae actionis liberius exserentem) homines, inquam, deploratae, illicitae ac desperatae factionis grassari in deos non ingemescendum
4 est? Qui de ultima faece collectis imperitioribus et mulieribus credulis sexus sui facilitate labentibus plebem profanae coniurationis instituunt, quae nocturnis congregationibus et ieiuniis solemnibus et inhumanis cibis non sacro quodam, sed piaculo foederantur, latebrosa et lucifugax natio, in publicum muta, in angulis garrula:

templa ut busta despiciunt, deos despuunt, rident sacra, miserentur miseri (si fas est) sacerdotum, honores et purpuras despiciunt, ipsi seminudi. Pro mira stultitia et incredibilis audacia! spernunt tormenta praesentia, dum incerta metuunt et futura, et dum mori post mortem timent, interim mori non timent: ita illis pavorem fallax spes solacia rediviva blanditur.

CHAPTER IX

Christianity must be suppressed. Its disciples are charged with murder and the grossest immorality; and there must be a substratum of truth in these persistent rumours. They worship an ass's head, a criminal, and the cross on which he was crucified.

Ac iam, ut fecundius nequiora proveniunt, serpentibus 1
in dies perditis moribus per universum orbem sacraria
ista taeterrima impiae coitionis adolescunt. Eruenda
prorsus haec et exsecranda consensio. Occultis se notis 2
et insignibus noscunt et amant mutuo, paene antequam
noverint; passim inter eos velut quaedam libidinum
religio miscetur, ac se promisce appellant fratres et
sorores, ut etiam non insolens stuprum intercessione sacri
nominis fiat incestum. Ita eorum vana et demens
superstitio sceleribus gloriatur. Nec de ipsis nisi sub- 3
sisteret veritas, maxime *ne*faria et honore praefanda
sagax fama loqueretur. Audio eos turpissimae pecudis
caput asini consecratum inepta nescio qua persuasione
venerari: digna et nata religio talibus moribus. Alii eos 4
ferunt ipsius antistitis ac sacerdotis colere genitalia et
quasi parentis sui adorare naturam: nescio an falsa,
certe occultis ac nocturnis sacris apposita suspicio. Et
qui hominem summo supplicio pro facinore punitum et
crucis ligna feralia eorum caerimonias fabulatur, congru-

entia perditis sceleratisque tribuit altaria, ut id colant
5 quod merentur. Iam de initiandis tirunculis fabula tam detestanda quam nota est. Infans farre contectus, ut decipiat incautos, apponitur ei qui sacris imbuatur. Is infans a tirunculo farris superficie quasi ad innoxios ictus provocato caecis occultisque vulneribus occiditur. Huius, pro nefas! sitienter sanguinem lambunt, huius certatim membra dispertiunt, hac foederantur hostia, hac conscientia sceleris ad silentium mutuum pignerantur. Haec
6 sacra sacrilegiis omnibus taetriora. Et de convivio notum est; passim omnes loquuntur, id etiam Cirtensis nostri testatur oratio. Ad epulas solemni die coeunt cum omnibus liberis, sororibus, matribus, sexus omnis homines, et omnis aetatis. Illic post multas epulas, ubi convivium caluit et incestae libidinis ebriatis fervor exarsit, canis, qui candelabro nexus est, iactu offulae ultra spatium lineae, qua vinctus est, ad impetum et saltum provocatur.
7 Sic, everso et exstincto conscio lumine, impudentibus tenebris nexus infandae cupiditatis involvunt per incertum sortis, etsi non omnes opera, conscientia tamen pariter incesti, quoniam voto universorum appetitur quidquid accidere potest in actu singulorum.

CHAPTER X

Secrecy is the main feature of the Christian worship. Unlike the Jews—poor wretches—who worshipped one god also, the Christians have neither temples nor public ceremonies. Their god, too, is a peculiar inquisitive individual, who is supposed to be everywhere, but can attend to nothing properly.

1 Multa praetereo consulto: nam et haec nimis multa sunt quae aut omnia aut pleraque omnium vera declarat

ipsius pravae religionis obscuritas. Cur etenim occultare 2
et abscondere, quidquid illud colunt, magnopere nituntur,
cum honesta semper publico gaudeant, scelera secreta
sint? cur nullas aras habent, templa nulla, nulla nota
simulacra, numquam palam loqui, nunquam libere con-
gregari, nisi illud, quod colunt et interprimunt, aut
puniendum est aut pudendum?

Unde autem vel quis ille aut ubi deus unicus, solitarius, 3
destitutus, quem non gens libera, non regna, non saltem
Romana superstitio noverunt? Iudaeorum sola et misera 4
gentilitas unum et ipsi deum, sed palam, sed templis,
aris, victimis caeremon*ii*sque coluerunt, cuius adeo nulla
vis nec potestas est, ut sit Romanis *h*ominibus cum sua
sibi natione captivus. At etiam Christiani quan*ta monstra*, 5
quae portenta confingunt! Deum illum suum, quem nec
ostendere possunt nec videre, in omnium mores, actus
omnium, verba denique et occultas cogitationes diligenter
inquirere, discurrentem scilicet atque ubique praesentem:
molestum illum volunt, inquietum, impudenter etiam
curiosum, siquidem astat factis omnibus, locis omnibus
intererrat, cum nec singulis inservire possit per universa
d*i*strictus nec universis sufficere in singulis occupatus.

CHAPTER XI

§§ 1-5. *The Christians maintain that the universe will be destroyed by fire, and tell old wives' tales about resurrection and everlasting happiness for the good (themselves) and eternal punishment for the wicked.*

Quid? quod toto orbi et ipsi mundo cum sideribus suis 1
minantur incendium, ruinam moliuntur, quasi aut naturae
divinis legibus constitutus aeternus ordo turbetur, aut,
rupto elementorum omnium foedere et caelesti compage

divisa, moles ista, qua continetur et cingitur, subruatur.
2 Nec hac furiosa opinione contenti aniles fabulas astruunt et adnectunt: renasci se ferunt post mortem et cineres et favillas et nescio qua fiducia mendaciis suis invicem
3 credunt: putes eos iam revixisse. Anceps malum et gemina dementia, caelo et astris, quae sic relinquimus, ut invenimus, interitum denuntiare, sibi mortuis exstinctis, qui sicut nascimur et interimus, aeternitatem repro-
4 mittere! Inde videlicet et exsecrantur rogos et damnant ignium sepulturas, quasi non omne corpus, etsi flammis subtrahatur, annis tamen et aetatibus in terram resolvatur, nec intersit, utrum ferae diripiant an maria consumant, an humus contegat an flamma subducat, cum cadaveribus omnis sepultura, si sentiunt, poena sit, si non sentiunt
5 ipsa conficiendi celeritate medicina. Hoc errore decepti beatam sibi, ut bonis, et perpetem vitam mortuis pollicentur, ceteris ut iniustis, poenam sempiternam.

§§ 5-9. *The Christians' theory that outside their sect is no redemption is illogical. Their theory of resurrection, also, is beset with difficulties.*

Multa ad haec suppetunt, ni festinet oratio. Iniustos ipsos magis nec laboro, iam docui: quamquam, etsi iustos darem, culpam tamen vel innocentiam fato tribui
6 *novi* sententiis plurimorum. Et haec vestra consensio est; nam quidquid agimus, ut alii fato, ita vos deo dicitis; sic sectae vestrae non spontaneos cupere, sed electos. Igitur iniquum iudicem fingitis, qui sortem in hominibus
7 puniat, non voluntatem. Vellem tamen sciscitari, utrumne cum corporibus *an absque corporibus*, et corporibus quibus, ipsisne an innovatis resurgatur. Sine corpore? hoc, quod sciam, neque mens neque anima nec vita est. Ipso corpore? sed iam ante dilapsum est. Alio corpore? ergo

homo novus nascitur, non prior ille reparatur. Et tamen 8
tanta aetas abiit, saecula innumera fluxerunt: quis unus
ullus ab inferis vel Protesilai sorte remeavit, horarum
saltem permisso commeatu, vel ut exemplo crederemus?
Omnia ista figmenta male sanae opinionis et inepta 9
solacia a poetis fallacibus in dulcedine carminis lusa a
vobis nimirum credulis in deum vestrum turpiter refor-
mata sunt.

CHAPTER XII

Christians are a wretched lot, leading a dreary, cheerless existence, denying themselves lawful pleasures. Their god will not or cannot help them even in this life; while the Romans hold sway and empire throughout the world.

Nec saltem de praesentibus capitis experimentum, 1
quam vos irritae pollic*it*ationis cassa vota decipiant:
quid post mortem impendeat, miseri, dum adhuc vivitis,
aestimate. Ecce pars vestrum, et maior, melior, ut dicitis, 2
egetis, algetis, opere fame laboratis, et deus patitur, dis-
simulat, non vult aut non potest opitulari suis: ita aut
invalidus aut iniquus est. Tu qui immortalitatem postu- 3
mam somnias, cum periculo quateris, cum febribus
ureris, cum dolore laceraris, nondum condicionem tuam
sentis? nondum agnoscis fragilitatem? invitus, miser,
infirmitatis argueris nec fateris!

Sed omitto communia. Ecce vobis minae, supplicia, 4
tormenta, et iam non adorandae sed subeundae cruces,
ignes etiam quos et praedicitis et timetis: ubi deus ille
qui subvenire reviviscentibus potest, viventibus non
potest? Nonne Romani sine vestro deo imperant, 5
regnant, fruuntur orbe toto vestrique dominantur? Vos
vero suspensi interim atque solliciti honestis voluptatibus
abstinetis: non spectacula visitis, non pompis interestis,

convivia publica absque vobis, sacra certamina, praecerptos
cibos et delibatos altaribus potus abhorretis. Sic refor-
6 midatis deos quos negatis! Non floribus caput nectitis,
non corpus odoribus honestatis: reservatis unguenta
funeribus, coronas etiam sepulcris denegatis, pallidi,
trepidi, misericordia digni—sed nostrorum deorum. Ita
nec resurgitis miseri nec interim vivitis.

§ 7. *Ignorant people, such as the Christians are, ought not to intermeddle with the things of heaven.*

7 Proinde, si quid sapientiae vobis aut verecundiae est, desinite caeli plagas et mundi fata et secreta rimari: satis est pro pedibus aspicere maxime indoctis impolitis, rudibus agrestibus, quibus non est datum intellegere civilia, multo magis denegatum est disserere divina.

CHAPTER XIII

But if they are bent on being philosophers, let them imitate Socrates, the Academicians and Simonides who confessed their ignorance of things divine.

1 Quamquam, si philosophandi libido est, Socraten, sa-
pientiae principem, quisque vestrum tantus est, si potuerit,
imitetur. Eius viri, quotiens de caelestibus rogabatur,
nota responsio est: "quod supra nos, nihil ad nos."
2 Merito ergo de oraculo testimonium meruit prudentiae
singularis. Quod oraculum, idem ipse praesensit, idcirco
universis *se* esse praepositum, non quod omnia comperisset,
sed quod nihil se scire didicisset: ita confessae imperitiae
3 summa prudentia est. Hoc fonte defluxit Arcesilae et
multo post Carneadis et Academicorum plurimorum in

summis quaestionibus tuta dubitatio, quo genere philo-
sophari et caute indoct ipossunt et docti gloriose. Quid, 4
Simonidis melici nonne admiranda omnibus et sectanda
cunctatio? Qui Simonides, cum de eo, quid et quales
arbitraretur deos, ab Hierone tyranno quaereretur, primo
deliberationi diem petiit, postridie biduum prorogavit,
mox alterum tantum admonitus adiunxit. Postremo
cum causas tantae morae tyrannus inquireret, respondit
ille quod sibi, quanto inquisitio tardior pergeret, tanto
veritas fieret obscurior. Mea quoque opinione, quae sunt 5
dubia, ut sunt, relinquenda sunt, nec tot ac tantis viris
deliberantibus, temere et audaciter in alteram partem
ferenda sententia est, ne aut anilis inducatur superstitio
aut omnis religio destruatur."

CHAPTER XIV

Caecilius exultingly concludes his argument with a caustic reference to Octavius. Minucius, as arbiter, congratulates him on his eloquence, but reminds him that eloquence, by obscuring the truth, has often proved fatal to controversy.

Sic Caecilius et reni*d*ens (nam indignationis eius 1
tumorem effusae orationis impetus relaxaverat): "*Ecquid*
ad haec," ait, "audet Octavius, homo Plautinae prosapiae,
ut pis*cicul*orum praecipuus, ita postremus philosophorum?"
"Parce," inquam, "in eum plaudere: neque enim prius 2
exsultare te dignum est concinnitate sermonis, quam
utrimque plenius fuerit peroratum, maxime cum non
laudi, sed veritati disceptatio vestra nitatur. Et 3
quamquam magnum in modum me subtili varietate tua
delectarit oratio, tamen altius moveor, non de praesenti
actione, sed de toto genere disputandi, quod plerumque

pro disserentium viribus et eloquentiae potestate etiam
4 perspicuae veritatis condicio mutetur. Id accidere
pernotum est auditorum facilitate, qui, dum verborum
lenocinio a rerum intentionibus avocantur, sine dilectu
assentiuntur dictis omnibus nec a rectis falsa secernunt,
nescientes inesse et *in* incredibili verum et in verisimi*li*
5 mendacium. Itaque, quo saepius asseverationibus
credunt, eo frequentius a peritioribus arguuntur; sic
assidue temeritate decepti culpam iudicis transferunt ad
incerti querelam, ut, damnatis omnibus, malint universa
6 suspendere quam de fallacibus iudicare. Igitur nobis
providendum est, ne odio identidem sermonum omnium
laboremus ita, ut in exsecrationem et odium hominum
plerique simpliciores efferantur. Nam incaute creduli
circumveniuntur ab his quos bonos putaverunt: mox
errore consimili, iam suspectis omnibus, ut improbos
7 metuunt etiam quos optimos sentire potuerunt. Nos
proinde solliciti, quod utrimque omni negotio disseratur et
ex altera parte plerumque obscura sit veritas, ex altero
latere mira subtilitas, quae nonnumquam ubertate dicendi
fidem confessae probationis imitetur, diligenter quantum
potest singula ponderemus, ut argutias quidem laudare,
ea vero quae recta sunt, eligere, probare, suscipere
possimus."

CHAPTER XV

Caecilius protests. Minucius explains that he has the genuine merits of the controversy at heart.

1 "Decedis," inquit Caecilius, "officio iudicis religiosi: nam periniurium est vires te actionis meae intergressu gravissimae disputationis infringere, cum Octavius integra et illibata habeat singula, si potest, refutare."

"Id quod criminaris," inquam, "in commune, nisi fallor, 2
compendium protuli, ut examine scrupuloso nostram
sententiam non eloquentiae tumore, sed rerum ipsarum
soliditate libremus. Nec avocanda, quod quereris,
diutius intentio, cum toto silentio liceat responsionem
Ianuari nostri iam gestientis audire."

CHAPTER XVI

§§ 1-4 *Octavius complains that Caecilius has been shifting his position, now denying the existence of gods, now stating his belief in them. This inconsistency, however, is due not to any dishonesty on his friend's part, but to a want of fixed principles.*

Et Octavius: "Dicam equidem, ut potero, pro 1
viribus, et adnitendum tibi mecum est, ut conviciorum
amarissimam labem verborum veracium flumine diluamus.
Nec dissimulabo principio ita Natalis mei errantem,
vagam, lubricam nutasse sententiam, ut sit nobis
ambigendum utrum *vafra dictione* turbata sit an
vacillaverit per errorem. Nam interim deos credere, 2
interim se deliberare variavit, ut propositionis incerto
*in*certior responsionis nostrae intentio fundaretur. Sed
in Natali meo versutiam nolo, non credo: procul est ab
eius simplicitate subtilis urbanitas. Quid igitur? Ut 3
qui rectam viam nescit, ubi, ut *f*it, in plures una
diff*in*ditur, quia viam nescit, haeret anxius nec singulas
audet eligere nec universas probare: sic, cui non est veri
stabile iudicium, prout infida suspicio spargitur, ita eius
dubia opinio dissipatur. Nullum itaque miraculum est, 4
si Caecilius identidem in contrariis ac repugnantibus
iactetur, aestuet, fluctuetur. Quod ne fiat ulterius,
convincam et redarguam quamvis diversa quae dicta

sunt, una veritate confirmata probataque; sic nec dubitandum ei de cetero est nec vagandum.

§§ 5-6. *Wisdom is not the prerogative of any class. Your great philosophers were once esteemed common people and ignorant. It is the philosophy, not the person of the philosopher, that counts.*

Et quoniam meus frater erupit, aegre se ferre, stomachari, indignari, dolere illiteratos, pauperes, imperitos de rebus caelestibus disputare, sciat omnes homines sine dilectu aetatis, sexus, dignitatis, rationis et sensus capaces et habiles procreatos nec fortuna nanctos, sed natura insitos esse sapientiam. Quin ipsos etiam philosophos, vel si qui alii artium repertores in memorias exierunt, priusquam sollertia mentis parerent nominis claritatem, habitos esse plebeios, indoctos, seminudos: adeo divites facultatibus suis illigatos magis aurum suspicere consuesse quam caelum, nostrates pauperes et commentos esse prudentiam et tradidisse ceteris disciplinam. Unde apparet ingenium non dari facultatibus nec studio parari, sed cum ipsa mentis formatione generari. Nihil itaque indignandum vel dolendum, si quicumque de divinis quaerat, sentiat, proferat, cum non disputantis auctoritas, sed disputationis ipsius veritas requiratur. Atque etiam, quo imperitior sermo, hoc illustrior ratio est, quoniam non fucatur pompa facundiae et gratiae, sed, ut est, recti regula sustinetur.

CHAPTER XVII

§§ 1-2. *Knowledge of his own origin and destiny entails an inquiry on man's part into the origin of things. In studying such problems he is but satisfying the highest instincts of his nature.*

Nec recuso, quod Caecilius asserere inter praecipua 1
conisus est, hominem nosse se et circumspicere debere, quid sit, unde sit, quare sit: utrum elementis concretus an concinnatus atomis, an potius a deo factus, formatus,
animatus. Quod ipsum explorare et eruere sine univer- 2
sitatis inquisitione non possumus, cum ita cohaerentia, conexa, concatenata sint, ut, nisi divinitatis rationem diligenter excusseris, nescias humanitatis, nec possis pulchre gerere rem civilem, nisi cognoveris hanc communem omnium mundi civitatem, praecipue cum a feris beluis hoc differamus, quod illa prona in terramque vergentia nihil nata sint prospicere nisi pabulum, nos, quibus vultus erectus, quibus suspectus in caelum datus est, sermo et ratio, per quae deum agnoscimus, sentimus, imitamur, ignorare nec fas nec licet ingerentem sese oculis et sensibus nostris caelestem claritatem: sacrilegii enim vel maxime instar est, humi quaerere quod in sublimi debeas invenire.

§§ 3-11. *The magnificence and order of the world, and especially the beauty of the human form, proclaim the existence of a supreme, intelligent power governing and sustaining the world.*

Quo magis mihi videntur qui hunc mundi totius 3
ornatum non divina ratione perfectum volunt, sed frustis quibusdam temere cohaerentibus conglobatum, mentem,

4 sensum, oculos denique ipsos non habere. Quid enim potest esse tam apertum, tam confessum tamque perspicuum, cum oculos in caelum sustuleris et quae sunt infra circaque lustraveris, quam esse aliquod numen praestantissimae mentis, quo omnis natura inspiretur,
5 moveatur, alatur, gubernetur? Caelum ipsum vide: quam late tenditur, quam rapide volvitur, vel quod in noctem astris distinguitur, vel quod in diem sole lustratur: iam scies, quam sit in eo summi moderatoris mira et divina libratio. Vide et annum, ut solis ambitus faciat, et mensem vide, ut luna auctu, senio, labore circumagat.
6 Quid tenebrarum et luminis dicam recursantes vices, ut sit nobis operis et quietis alterna reparatio? Relinquenda vero astrologis prolixior de sideribus oratio, vel quod regant cursum navigandi, vel quod arandi metendique tempus inducant. Quae singula non modo ut crearentur, fierent, disponerentur, summi opificis et perfectae rationis eguerunt, verum etiam sentiri, perspici, intellegi sine summa sollertia et ratione non possunt.

7 Quid, cum ordo temporum ac frugum stabili varietate distinguitur, nonne auctorem suum parentemque testatur ver aeque cum suis floribus et aestas cum suis messibus et autumni maturitas grata et hiberna olivitas necessaria? Qui ordo facile turbaretur, nisi maxima
8 ratione consisteret. Iam providentiae quantae, ne hiemps sola glacie ureret aut sola aestas ardore torreret, autumni et veris inserere medium temperamentum, ut per vestigia sua anni revertentis occulti et innoxii transitus laberentur.

9 Mari intende: lege litoris stringitur; quidquid arborum est vide: quam e terrae visceribus animatur; aspice oceanum: refluit reciprocis aestibus; vide fontes: manant venis perennibus; fluvios intuere: eunt semper exercitis lapsibus.

Quid loquar apte disposita recta montium, collium 10
flexa, porrecta camporum? quidve animantium loquar adversus sese tutelam multiformem? alias armatas cornibus, alias dentibus saeptas et fundatas ungulis et spicatas aculeis aut pedum celeritate liberas aut elatione pinnarum?

Ipsa praecipue formae nostrae pulchritudo deum 11
fatetur artificem: status rigidus, vultus erectus, oculi in summo velut in specula constituti et omnes ceteri sensus compositi.

CHAPTER XVIII

§§ 1-4. *The economy of nature an argument for a supreme ordainer.*

Longum est ire per singula. Nihil in homine mem- 1
brorum est, quod non et necessitatis causa sit et decoris, et, quod magis mirum est, eadem figura omnibus, sed quaedam unicuique liniamenta deflexa: sic et similes universi videmur et inter se singuli dissimiles invenimur.

Quid nascendi ratio? quid? cupido generandi nonne 2
a deo data est, et ut ubera partu maturescente lactescant et ut tener fetus ubertate lactei roris adolescat?

Nec universitati solummodo deus, sed et partibus 3
consulit. Britannia sole deficitur, sed circumfluentis maris tepore recreatur: Aegypti siccitatem temperare Nilus amnis solet, Euphrates Mesopotamiam pro imbribus pensat, Indus flumen et serere orientem dicitur et rigare.

Quod si, ingressus aliquam domum, omnia exculta, 4
disposita, ornata vidisses, utique praeesse ei crederes dominum parentemque ipsis sideribus et totius mundi partibus pulchriorem.

§§ 5-7. *Unity of the supreme ordainer.*

5 Ni forte, quoniam de providentia nulla dubitatio est, inquirendum putas, utrum unius imperio an arbitrio plurimorum caeleste regnum gubernetur; quod ipsum non est multi laboris aperire cogitanti imperia terrena,
6 quibus exempla utique de caelo. Quando unquam regni societas aut cum fide coepit aut sine cruore discessit? Omitto Persas de equorum hinnitu augurantes principatum, et Thebanorum *par*, mortuam fabulam, transeo. Ob pastorum et casae regnum de geminis memoria notissima est. Generi et soceri bella toto orbe diffusa sunt, et tam magni imperii duos fortuna non cepit.
7 Vide cetera: rex unus apibus, dux unus in gregibus, in armentis rector unus. Tu in caelo summam potestatem dividi credas et scindi veri illius ac divini imperii totam *mai*estatem, cum palam sit parentem omnium deum nec principium habere nec terminum, qui nativitatem omnibus praestet, sibi perpetuitatem, qui ante mundum fuerit sibi ipse pro mundo: qui universa, quaecunque sunt, verbo iubet, ratione dispensat, virtute consummat.

§§ 8-11. *He is invisible and infinite. His name is God.*

8 Hic non videri potest: visu clarior est; nec comprehendi: *tactu purior est;* nec aestimari: sensibus maior est, infinitus, immensus, et soli sibi tantus, quantus est, notus. Nobis vero ad intellectum pectus angustum est, et ideo sic eum digne aestimamus, dum inaestimabilem
9 dicimus. Eloquar quemadmodum sentio: magnitudinem dei qui se putat nosse, minuit: qui non vult minuere, non novit.
10 Nec nomen deo quaeras: deus nomen est. Illic

vocabulis opus est, cum per singulos propriis appellationum insignibus multitudo dirimenda est; deo qui solus est, dei vocabulum totum est. Quem si patrem dixero, carnalem opineris; si regem, terrenum suspiceris; si dominum, intelleges utique mortalem. Aufer additamenta nominum et perspicies eius claritatem.

Quid quod omnium de isto habeo consensum? Audio 11
vulgus: cum ad caelum manus tendunt, nihil aliud quam deum dicunt et "deus magnus est" et "deus verus est" et "si deus dederit." Vulgi iste naturalis sermo est an Christiani confitentis oratio? Et qui Iovem principem volunt, falluntur in nomine, sed de una potestate consentiunt.

CHAPTER XIX

Poets and philosophers bear testimony to the existence of one supreme intelligent power. Their opinions are practically the same as that of Christians.

Audio poetas quoque unum patrem divum atque 1
hominum praedicantes, et talem esse mortalium mentem qualem parens omnium diem duxerit. Quid Mantuanus 2
Maro? Nonne apertius, proximius, verius, "principio," ait, "caelum ac terras et cetera mundi membra spiritus intus alit et infusa mens agitat, inde hominum pecudumque genus et quidquid aliud animalium"? Idem alio loco mentem istam et spiritum deum nominat. Haec enim verba sunt:

> deum namque ire per omnes
> terrasque tractusque maris caelumque profundum,
> unde homin*um genus* et pecudes, unde imber et ignes.

Quid aliud et a nobis deus quam mens et ratio et spiritus praedicatur?

3 Recenseamus, si placet, disciplinam philosophorum:
deprehendes eos, etsi sermonibus variis, ipsis tamen rebus
4 in hanc unam coire et conspirare sententiam. Omitto
illos rudes et veteres, qui de suis dictis sapientes esse
meruerunt. Sit Thales Milesius omnium primus, qui
primus omnium de caelestibus disputavit. Is *aut*em
Milesius Thales rerum initium aquam dixit, deum autem
eam mentem quae ex aqua cuncta formaverit. En altior
et sublimior aquae et spiritus ratio, quam ut ab homine
pot*u*erit inveniri—a deo traditum. Vides philosophi
5 principalis nobiscum penitus opinionem consonare. Anaxi-
menes deinceps et post Apolloniates Diogenes aëra deum
statuunt infinitum et immensum: horum quoque similis
6 de divinitate consensio est. Anaxagorae vero d*i*scriptio
et m*o*tus infinitae mentis deus dicitur, et Pythagorae
deus est animus per universam rerum naturam commeans
et intentus, ex quo etiam animalium omnium vita ca*r*-
7 patur. Xenophanen notum est omne infinitum cum
mente deum tradere, et Antisthenen populares deos
multos, sed naturalem unum praecipuum, Speusippum
8 vim animalem, qua omnia regantur, deum nosse. Quid?
Democritus quamvis atomorum primus inventor, nonne
plerumque naturam, quae imagines fundat, et intellegen-
tiam deum loquitur? Straton quoque et ipse naturam.
Etiam Epicurus ille, qui deos aut otiosos fingit aut
9 nullos, naturam tamen superponit. Aristoteles variat et
assignat tamen unam potestatem: nam interim mentem,
mundum interim deum dicit, interim mundo deum prae-
ficit. Ponticus variat alias mundo, alias menti divinae
tribuens principatum. *Constat* quoque de deo, divinam
10 mentem quamvis varie ascribendo, Theophrastus. Et
Zenon et Chrysippus et Cleanthes sunt et ipsi multi-
formes, sed ad unitatem providentiae omnes revolvuntur.
Cleanthes enim mentem modo *naturae atque* animum,

modo aethera, plerumque rationem deum disserit. Zenon,
eiusdem magister, naturalem legem atque divinam, et
aethera interim, interdumque rationem vult omnium esse
principium; idem interpretando Iunonem aëra, Iovem
caelum, Neptunum mare, ignem esse Vulcanum et ceteros
similiter vulgi deos elementa esse monstrando publicum
arguit graviter et revincit errorem. Eadem fere Chry- 11
sippus: vim divinam rationalem, naturam et mundum,
interim et fatalem necessitatem deum credit Zenonemque
interpretatione phys*i*ologi*c*a in Hesiodi, Homeri Orpheique
carminibus imitatur. Babylonio etiam Diogeni disci- 12
plina est exponendi et disserendi Iovis partum et ortum
Minervae et hoc genus cetera rerum vocabula esse, non
deorum. Nam Socraticus Xenophon formam dei veri 13
negat videri posse et ideo quaeri non oporteri, Ariston
Stoicus comprehendi omnino non posse: uterque maies-
tatem dei intellegendi desperatione senserunt. Platoni
apertior de deo et rebus ipsis et nominibus oratio est et
quae tota esset caelestis, nisi persuasionis civilis non-
nunquam admixtione sordesceret. Platoni itaque in 14
Timaeo deus est ipso suo nomine mundi parens, artifex
animae, terrestrium terrenorumque fabricator, quem et
invenire difficile prae nimia et incredibili potestate, et
cum inveneris, in publicum dicere impossibile praefatur.

Eadem fere et ista, quae nostra sunt: nam et deum 15
novimus et parentem omnium dicimus et numquam
publice nisi interrogati praedicamus.

CHAPTER XX

The polytheistic fables of ancient poets have been refuted by ancient philosophers backed by common-sense and the testimony of antiquity. Our ancestors were simple-minded people in other matters as well as in their relations towards the gods. Their good nature led them astray.

1 Exposui opiniones omnium ferme philosophorum, quibus illustrior gloria est, deum unum multis licet designasse nominibus, ut quivis arbitretur, aut nunc Christianos philosophos esse aut philosophos fuisse iam tunc Christianos.

2 Quod si providentia mundus regitur et unius dei nutu gubernatur, non nos debet antiquitas imperitorum, fabellis suis delectata vel capta, ad errorem mutui rapere consensus, cum philosophorum suorum sententiis refellatur, quibus et rationis et vetustatis assistit auctoritas.
3 Maioribus enim nostris tam facilis in mendaciis fides fuit, ut temere crediderint etiam alia monstruosa, mira miracula: Scyllam multiplicem, Chimaeram multiformem et Hydram felicibus vulneribus renascentem et Centauros equos suis hominibus implexos, et quidquid famae licet
4 fingere, illis erat libenter audire. Quid illas aniles fabulas, de hominibus aves et feras omnes et de hominibus arbores atque flores? quae si essent facta, fierent: quia fieri non possunt, ideo nec facta sunt.

5 Similiter *absque* vero erga deos quoque maiores nostri, improvidi, creduli rudi simplicitate crediderunt. Dum reges suos colunt religiose, dum defunctos eos desiderant in imaginibus videre, dum gestiunt eorum memorias in statuis detinere, sacra facta sunt quae fuerant assumpta
6 solacia. Denique, et antequam commerciis orbis pateret

et antequam gentes ritus suos moresque miscerent, unaquaeque natio conditorem suum aut ducem inclytum aut reginam pudicam sexu suo fortiorem aut alicuius muneris vel artis repertorem venerabatur ut civem bonae memoriae: sic et defunctis praemium et futuris dabatur exemplum.

CHAPTER XXI

§§ 1-9. *The testimony of historians and of wise men is to the effect that the gods were mere men deified by a grateful people.*

Lege historicorum scripta vel scripta sapientium: 1
eadem mecum recognosces. Ob merita virtutis aut
muneris deos habitos Euhemerus exsequitur, et eorum
natales, patrias, sepulcra dinumerat et per provincias
monstrat, Dictaei Iovis et Apollinis Delphici et Phariae
Isidis et Cereris Eleusiniae. Prodicus assumptos in deos 2
loquitur, qui errando inventis novis frugibus utilitati
hominum profuerunt. In eandem sententiam et Persaeus
philosophatur et adnectit inventas fruges et frugum
ipsarum repertores isdem nominibus, ut comicus sermo
est, Venerem sine Libero et Cerere frigere.

Alexander ille Magnus Macedo insigni volumine ad 3
matrem suam scripsit, metu suae potestatis proditum sibi
de diis hominibus a sacerdote secretum: illic Vulcanum
facit omnium principem, et postea Iovis gentem. Satur- 4
num enim principem huius generis et examinis omnes
scriptores vetustatis Graeci Romanique hominem pro-
diderunt. Scit hoc Nepos et Cassius in historia, et
Thallus ac Diodorus hoc loquuntur. Is itaque Saturnus 5
Creta profugus Italiam metu filii saevientis accesserat, et
Iani susceptus hospitio rudes illos homines et agrestes
multa docuit ut Graeculus et politus, litteras imprimere,

6 nummos signare, instrumenta conficere. Itaque latebram suam, quod tuto latuisset, vocari maluit Latium; et urbem Saturniam *con*d*id*it de suo nomine et Ianiculum Ianus: ad memoriam uterque posteritatis reliquerunt.
7 Homo igitur utique qui fugit, homo utique qui latuit, et pater hominis et natus ex homine: Terrae enim vel Caeli filius, quod apud Italos esset ignotis parentibus,
8 proditus, ut in hodiernum inopinato visos caelo missos, ignobiles et ignotos terrae filios nominamus. Eius filius Iuppiter Cretae, excluso parente, regnavit, illic obiit, illic filios habuit: adhuc antrum Iovis visitur et sepulcrum eius ostenditur, et ipsis sacris suis humanitatis arguitur.

§§ 9-12. *Divinity is infinite and gods can neither be born such nor made such.*

9 Otiosum est ire per singulos et totam seriem generis istius explicare, cum in primis parentibus probata mortalitas in ceteros ipso ordine successionis influxerit. Nisi forte post mortem deos fingitis, et perierante Proculo deus Romulus, et Iuba Mauris volentibus, deus est, et divi ceteri reges, qui consecrantur non ad fidem numinis, sed
10 ad honorem emeritae potestatis. Invitis his denique hoc nomen ascribitur: optant in homine perseverare, fieri se deos metuunt, etsi iam senes nolunt.

11 Ergo nec de mortuis dii, quoniam deus mori non potest, nec de natis, quoniam moritur omne quod nascitur: divinum autem id est, quod nec ortum habet nec occasum. Cur enim, si nati sunt, non hodieque nascuntur? Nisi forte iam Iuppiter senuit et partus in Iunone deficit et Minerva canuit antequam peperit. An ideo cessavit ista generatio, quoniam nulla huiusmodi fabulis praebetur assensio?

12 Ceterum si dii creare possent, interire non possent,

plures totis hominibus deos haberemus, ut iam eos nec caelum contineret nec aër caperet nec terra gestaret. Unde manifestum est homines illos fuisse, quos et natos legimus et mortuos scimus.

CHAPTER XXII

§§ 1-6. *The magnificence of the images of these gods strikes the imagination of the crowd, so that people actually worship and fear these images, not reflecting on their material or construction.*

Quis ergo dubitat horum imagines consecratas vulgus 1
orare et publice colere, dum opinio et mens imperitorum artis concinnitate decipitur, auri fulgore praestringitur, argenti nitore et candore eboris hebetatur? Quodsi 2
in animum quis inducat, tormentis quibus et quibus machinis simulacrum omne formetur, erubescet timere se materiem ab artifice, ut deum faceret, illusam. Deus 3
enim ligneus, rogi fortasse vel infelicis stipitis portio, suspenditur, caeditur, dolatur, runcinatur. Et deus aereus 4
vel argenteus de immundo vasculo saepius, ut factum Aegyptio regi, conflatur, tunditur malleis et incudibus figuratur: et lapideus *deus* caeditur, scalpitur, et ab impurato homine levigatur, nec sentit suae nativitatis iniuriam, ita ut nec postea de vestra veneratione culturam.

Nisi forte nondum deus saxum est vel lignum vel 5
argentum. Quando igitur hic nascitur? Ecce funditur, fabricatur, sculpitur: nondum deus est; ecce plumbatur, construitur, erigitur: nec adhuc deus est; ecce ornatur, consecratur, oratur: tunc postremo deus est, cum homo illum voluit et dedicavit.

§ 6-7. *The brute creation has a keener appreciation of the worth of images.*

6 Quanta vero *versutia* de diis vestris animalia muta naturaliter iudicant! Mures, hirundines, milvi non sentire eos sciunt: *rodunt*, inculcant, insident, ac nisi abigatis, in ipso dei vestri ore nidificant; araneae vero faciem eius
7 intexunt et de ipso capite sua fila suspendunt. Vos tergetis, mundatis, eraditis et illos, quos facitis, protegitis, et timetis, dum unusquisque vestrum non cogitat prius se debere deum nosse quam colere, dum inconsulte gestiunt parentibus oboedire, dum fieri malunt alieni erroris accessio quam sibi credere, dum nihil ex his quae timent norunt. Sic in auro et argento avaritia consecrata est, sic statuarum inanium consignata forma, sic nata Romana superstitio.

§§ 8-10. *How ridiculous the ritual of this old religion!*

8 Quorum ritus si percenseas, ridenda quam multa, *quam multa* etiam miseranda sunt! Nudi cruda hieme discurrunt, alii incedunt pilleati, scuta vetera circumferunt, pelles caedunt, mendicantes vica*tim* deos ducunt: quaedam fana semel anno adire permittunt, quaedam in totum nefas visere: est quo viro non licet et nonnulla absque feminis sacra sunt, etiam servo quibusdam caerimoniis interesse piaculare flagitium est: alia sacra coronat univira, alia multivira, et magna religione conquiritur
9 quae plura possit adulteria numerare. Quid? qui sanguine suo libat et vulneribus suis supplicat, non profanus melius esset quam sic religiosus? Aut cui exta sunt obscoena demessa, quomodo deum violat, qui hoc modo placat! cum, si eunuchos deus vellet, posset procreare, non facere. Quis non intellegat male sanos et vanae et perditae

mentis in ista desipere et ipsam errantium turbam mutua sibi patrocinia praestare? Hic defensio communis furoris est furentium multitudo.

Et *a*spicis Isidis ad hirundinem sistrum et, asparsis membris, inanem tui Serapidis sive Osiris tumulum.

CHAPTER XXIII

§§ 1-5. *The sacred rites and mysteries of Roman paganism.*

Considera denique sacra ipsa et ipsa mysteria: in- 1
venies exitus tristes, fata et funera et luctus atque
planctus miserorum deorum. Isis perditum filium cum
Cynocephalo suo et calvis sacerdotibus luget, plangit,
inquirit, et Isiaci miseri caedunt pectora et dolorem
infelicissimae matris imitantur: mox invento parvulo
gaudet Isis, exultant sacerdotes, Cynocephalus inventor
gloriatur, nec desinunt annis omnibus vel perdere quod
inveniunt vel invenire quod perdunt. Nonne ridiculum 2
est vel lugere quod colas vel colere quod lugeas? Haec
tamen Aegyptia quondam nunc et sacra Romana sunt.
Ceres facibus accensis et serpente circumdata, errore sub- 3
reptam et corruptam Liberam anxia et sollicita vestigat:
haec sunt Eleusinia. Et quae Iovis sacra sunt? Nutrix 4
capella est et avido patri subtrahitur infans, ne voretur,
et Corybantum cymbalis, ne pater audiat vagitus, *t*in*n*itus
eliditur.

Cybelae Dindyma pudet dicere, quae adulterum suum 5
infeliciter placitum, quoniam et ipsa deformis et vetula,
ut multorum deorum mater, ad stuprum illicere non
poterat, exsecuit, ut deum scilicet faceret eunuchum.
Propter hanc fabulam Galli eam et semiviri sui corporis
supplicio colunt. Haec iam non sunt sacra: tormenta sunt.

§§ 6-7. *The representations of these gods in works of art are ridiculous extravagances.*

6 Quid? formae ipsae et habitus nonne arguunt ludibria et *de*decora deorum vestrorum? Vulcanus claudus deus et debilis, Apollo tot aetatibus levis, Aesculapius bene barbatus etsi semper adulescentis Apollinis filius, Neptunus glaucis oculis, Minerva caesiis, bubulis Iuno, pedibus Mercurius alatus, Pan ungulatis, Saturnus compeditis. Ianus vero frontes duas gestit, quasi et aversus incedat; Diana interim est alte succincta venatrix, et Ephesia mammis multis et *u*beribus exstructa, et Trivia
7 trinis capitibus et multis manibus horrifica. Quid ipse Iuppiter vester? modo imberbis statuitur, modo barbatus locatur; et cum Hammon dicitur, habet cornua, et cum Capitolinus, tunc gerit fulmina, et cum Latiaris, cruore perfunditur, et cum Feretrius, *nisi cum spoliis* non *ad*itur. Et, ne longius multos Ioves obeam, tot sunt Iovis monstra
8 quo*t* nomina. Erigone suspensa de laqueo est, ut Virgo inter astra ignita sit. Castores alternis moriuntur ut vivant, Aesculapius ut in deum surgat fulminatur, Hercules ut hominem exuat *Aetnaeis* ignibus concrematur.

CHAPTER XXIV

§§ 1-7. *The passions and shortcomings of these gods are portrayed in literature, in poetry especially.*

1 Has fabulas et errores et ab imperitis parentibus discimus, et, quod est gravius, ipsis studiis et disciplinis elaboramus, carminibus praecipue poetarum, qui plurimum
2 quantum veritati ipsi sua auctoritate nocuerunt. Et Plato ideo praeclare Homerum illum inclytum laudatum et coronatum de civitate, quam in sermone instituebat,
3 eiecit. Hic enim praecipuus bello Troico deos vestros,

etsi ludos facit, tamen in hominum rebus et actibus
miscuit, hic eorum paria composuit, sauciavit Venerem,
Martem vinxit, vulneravit, fugavit. Iovem narrat Briareo 4
liberatum, ne a diis ceteris ligaretur, et Sarpedonem
filium, quoniam morti non poterat eripere, flevisse et loro
Veneris illectum flagrantius quam in adulteras soleat
cum Iunone uxore concumbere. Alibi Hercules stercora 5
egerit et Apollo Admeto pecus pascit. Laomedonti vero
muros Neptunus instituit, nec mercedem operis infelix
structor accepit. Illic Iovis fulmen cum Aeneae armis 6
in incude fabricatur, cum caelum et fulmina et fulgura
longe ante fuerint, quam Iuppiter in Creta nasceretur, et
flammas veri fulminis nec Cyclops potuerit imitari nec
ipse Iuppiter non vereri. Quid loquar Martis et Veneris 7
adulterium deprehensum et in Ganymeden Iovis stuprum
caelo consecratum? Quae omnia in hoc prodita, ut vitiis
hominum quaedam auctoritas pararetur.

§ 8. *The evils of such literature.*

His atque huiusmodi figmentis et mendaciis dulcioribus 8
corrumpuntur ingenia puerorum, et isdem fabulis inhaerentibus adusque summae aetatis robur adolescunt, et in isdem opinionibus miseri consenescunt, cum sit veritas obvia, sed requirentibus.

CHAPTER XXV

§§ 1-9. *The greatness of Rome is due not to the ancient religion of Rome, as alleged* (6. 2, 3). *Her empire was begotten and nurtured in crime. Her native gods were weaklings; her adopted gods were unable to help their own, much less their conquerors.*

At tamen ista ipsa superstitio Romanis dedit, auxit, 1
fundavit imperium, cum non tam virtute quam religione

et pietate pollerent. Nimirum insignis et nobilis iustitia
Romana ab ipsis imperii nascentis incunabulis auspicata
2 est! Nonne in ortu suo et scelere collecti et muniti
immanitatis suae terrore creverunt? Nam asylo prima
plebs congregata est: confluxerant perditi, facinorosi,
incesti, sicarii, proditores, et ut ipse Romulus imperator
et rector populum suum facinore praecelleret, parricidium
fecit. Haec prima sunt auspicia religiosae civitatis!
3 Mox alienas virgines iam desponsatas, iam destinatas, et
nonnullas de matrimonio mulierculas sine more rapuit,
violavit, illusit, et cum earum parentibus, id est cum
soceris suis bellum miscuit, propinquum sanguinem fudit.
Quid irreligiosius, quid audacius, quid ipsa sceleris con-
4 fidentia tutius? Iam finitimos agro pellere, civitates
proximas evertere cum templis et altaribus, captos cogere,
damnis alienis et suis sceleribus adolescere, cum Romulo
regibus ceteris et postremis ducibus disciplina communis
est.

5 Ita quidquid Romani tenent, colunt, possident, audaciae
praeda est: templa omnia de manubiis, id est, de ruinis
6 urbium, de spoliis deorum, de caedibus sacerdotum. Hoc
insultare et illudere est, victis religionibus servire, captivas
eas post victorias adorare. Nam adorare quae manu
ceperis, sacrilegium est consecrare, non numina. Totiens
ergo Romanis impiatum est quotiens triumphatum, tot de
7 diis spolia quot de gentibus et tropaea. Igitur Romani
non ideo tanti, quod religiosi, sed quod impune sacrilegi:
neque enim potuerunt in ipsis bellis deos adiutores
habere, adversus quos arma rapuerunt. *At* quos *prostra-
verant*, detriumphatos colere coeperunt: quid autem isti
dii pro Romanis possunt, qui nihil pro suis adversus
eorum arma voluerunt?

8 Romanorum enim vernaculos deos novimus: Romulus,
Picus, Tiberinus et Consus et Pilumnus ac Volumnus dii;

Cloacinam Tatius et invenit et coluit, Pavorem Hostilius atque Pallorem, mox a nescio quo Febris dedicata: haec alumna urbis istius superstitio, morbi et malae valetudines! Sane et Acca Larentia et Flora, meretrices propudiosae, inter morbos Romanorum et deos computandae.

Isti scilicet adversus ceteros, qui in gentibus colebantur, 9
Romanorum imperium protulerunt: neque enim eos adversum suos homines vel Mars Thracius, vel Iuppiter Creticus, vel Iuno nunc Argiva, nunc Samia, nunc Poena *vel* Diana Taurica, vel Mater Idaea, vel Aegyptia illa non numina, sed portenta iuverunt.

§§ 10-12. *The greatness of Rome is not due to the sanctity of her pagan priests and virgins* (6. 2).

Nisi forte apud istos maior castitas virginum aut 10
religio sanctior sacerdotum, cum paene in pluribus virginibus, Vesta sane nesciente, sit incestum vindicatum, in residuis impunitatem fecerit non castitas tutior, sed impudicitia felicior. Ubi autem magis a sacerdotibus quam 11
inter aras et delubra conducuntur stupra, tractantur lenocinia, adulteria meditantur? Frequentius denique in aedituorum cellulis quam in ipsis lupanaribus flagrans libido defungitur.

Et tamen ante eos, deo dispensante, diu regna tenue- 12
runt Assyrii, Medi, Persae, Graeci etiam et Aegyptii, cum Pontifices et Arvales et Salios et Vestales et Augures non haberent nec pullos cavea reclusos, quorum cibo vel fastidio res publica summa regeretur.

CHAPTER XXVI

§§ 1-6. *The claims made for auguries, auspices and oracles are of no avail. Their futility is proven by the facts.*

1 Iam enim venio ad illa auspicia et auguria Romana, quae summo labore collecta testatus es et paenitenter
2 omissa et observata feliciter. Clodius scilicet et Flaminius et Iunius ideo exercitus perdiderunt, quod pullorum sol*i*stimum tripudium exspectandum non putaverunt.
3 Quid Regulus? Nonne auguria servavit et captus est? Mancinus religionem tenuit, et sub iugum missus est et deditus. Pullos edaces habuit et Paulus, apud Cannas tamen cum maiore republicae parte prostratus est.
4 Gaius Caesar, ne ante brumam in Africam navigia transmitteret auguriis et auspiciis renitentibus, sprevit: eo facilius et navigavit et vicit.

5 Quae vero et quanta de oraculis prosequar? Post mortem Amphiaraus ventura respondit, qui proditum iri se ob monile ab uxore nescivit. Tiresias caecus
6 futura videbat, qui praesentia non videbat. De Pyrrho Ennius Apollinis Pythi responsa confinxit, cum iam Apollo versus facere desisset: cuius tunc cautum illud et ambiguum defecit oraculum, cum et politiores homines et minus creduli esse coeperunt. Et Demosthenes, quod sciret responsa simulata, φιλιππίζειν Pythiam querebatur.

§§ 7-12. *Demons or impure spirits are the source of all evil and error.*

7 At nonnumquan tamen veritatem vel auspicia vel oracula tetigerunt. Quamquam inter multa mendacia

videri possit industriam casus imitatus, aggrediar tamen
fontem ipsum erroris et pravitatis, unde omnis caligo
ista manavit, et altius eruere et aperire manifestius.

Spiritus sunt insinceri, vagi, a caelesti vigore terrenis 8
labibus et cupiditatibus degravati. Isti igitur spiritus,
posteaquam simplicitatem substantiae suae onusti et
immersi vitiis perdiderunt, ad solacium calamitatis suae
non desinunt perditi iam perdere et depravati errorem
pravitatis infundere et alienati a deo inductis pravis
religionibus a deo segregare. Eos spiritus daemonas esse 9
poetae sciunt, philosophi disserunt, Socrates novit, qui
ad nutum et arbitrium assidentis sibi daemonis vel
declinabat negotia vel petebat. Magi quoque non tantum 10
sciunt daemonas, sed etiam quidquid miraculi ludunt, per
daemonas faciunt: illis aspirantibus et infundentibus
praestigias edunt, vel quae non sunt videri, vel quae
sunt non videri. Eorum magorum et eloquio et negotio 11
primus Hostanes et verum deum merita maiestate
prosequitur et angelos, id est ministros et nuntios, dei
sede*m* tueri eiusque venerationi novit assistere, ut et
nutu ipso et vultu domini territi contremescant. Idem
etiam daemonas prodidit terrenos, vagos, humanitatis 12
inimicos. Quid Plato, qui invenire deum negotium
credidit, nonne et angelos sine negotio narrat et daemonas?
et in Symposio etiam suo naturam daemonum exprimere
conititur? Vult enim esse substantiam inter mortalem
immortalemque, id est inter corpus et spiritum mediam,
terreni ponderis et caelestis levitatis admixtione con-
cretam, ex qua monet etiam nos *daemonem* amoris *esse*,
et dicit informari et labi pectoribus humanis et sensum
movere et affectus fingere et ardorem cupiditatis in-
fundere.

CHAPTER XXVII

These demons lurk within images, inspire prophecy, direct auguries and auspices, inflict disease and simulate cure. When adjured by the true God they confess their identity. They hate Christians and inspire hatred against them.

1 Isti igitur impuri spiritus daemones, ut ostensum
magis a philosophis et a Platone, sub statuis et imaginibus
consecrati delitescunt et afflatu suo auctoritatem quasi
praesentis numinis consequuntur, dum inspirant interim
vatibus, dum fanis immorantur, dum nonnumquam
extorum fibras animant, avium volatus gubernant, sortes
2 regunt, oracula efficiunt, falsis pluribus involuta. Nam et
falluntur et fallunt, ut et nescientes sinceram veritatem
et quam sciunt, in perditionem sui non confitentes. Sic
a caelo deorsum gravant et a deo vero ad materias
avocant, vitam turbant, somnos inquietant, irrepentes
etiam corporibus occulte, ut spiritus tenues, morbos
fingunt, terrent mentes, membra distorquent, ut ad
cultum sui cogant, ut nidore altarium vel hostiis pecudum
saginati, remissis quae constrinxerant, curasse videantur.
3 Hi*nc* sunt et furentes, quos in publicum videtis excurrere,
vates et ipsi absque templo; sic insaniunt, sic bacchantur,
sic rotantur: par et in illis instigatio daemonis, sed
4 argumentum dispar furoris. De ipsis etiam illa, quae
paulo ante tibi dicta sunt, ut Iuppiter ludos repeteret
ex somnio, ut cum equis Castores viderentur, ut cingulum
matronae navicula sequeretur.

5 Haec omnia sciunt pler*a*que pars vestrum ipsos
daemonas de semetipsis confiteri, quotiens a nobis tor-
mentis verborum et orationis incendiis de corporibus
6 exiguntur. Ipse Saturnus et Serapis et Iuppiter et

quidquid daemonum colitis, victi dolore quod sunt
eloquuntur, nec utique in turpitudinem sui, nonnullis
praesertim vestrum assistentibus, mentiuntur. Ipsis 7
testibus, esse eos daemonas, de se verum confitentibus
credite: adiurati enim per deum verum et solum, inviti,
miseri corporibus inhorrescunt et vel exiliunt statim
vel evanescunt gradatim, prout fides patientis adiuvat
aut gratia curantis aspirat. Sic Christianos de proximo
fugitant, quos longe in coetibus per vos lacessebant.
Ideo inserti mentibus imperitorum odium nostri serunt 8
occulte per timorem: naturale est enim et odisse quem
time*as*, et quem metueris infestare, si possis. Sic occu-
pant animos et obstruunt pectora, ut ante nos incipiant
homines odisse quam nosse, ne cognitos aut imitari
possint aut damnare non possint.

CHAPTER XXVIII

§§ 1-5. *Octavius confesses that he, too, at one time, through the deception of demons believed the stories current about Christians. He reveals the attitude of the judges towards the latter in their trials.*

Quam autem iniquum sit, incognitis et inexploratis 1
iudicare, quod facitis, nobis ipsis paenitentibus credite.
Et nos enim idem fuimus et eadem vobiscum quondam 2
adhuc caeci et hebetes sentiebamus, quasi Christiani
monstra colerent, infantes vorarent, convivia incesta
miscerent, nec intellegebamus ab his fabulas istas semper
ventilari et nunquam vel investigari vel probari, nec
tanto tempore aliquem existere qui proderet, non tantum
facti veniam, verum etiam indicii gratiam consecuturum:
malum autem adeo non esse, ut Christianus reus nec
erubesceret nec timeret, et unum solummodo, quod non

3 ante fuerit, paeniteret. Nos tamen cum sacrilegos aliquos et incestos, parricidas etiam defendendos et tuendos suscipiebamus, hos nec audiendos in totum putabamus, nonnumquam etiam miserantes eorum crudelius saeviebamus, ut torqueremus confitentes ad negandum, videlicet ne perirent, exercentes in his perversam quaestionem, non quae verum erueret, sed quae
4 mendacium cogeret. Et si qui infirmior malo pressus et victus Christianum se negasset, favebamus ei, quasi eierato nomine iam omnia facta sua illa negatione
5 purgaret. Agnoscitisne eadem nos sensisse et egisse, quae sentitis et geritis? cum, si ratio, non instigatio daemonis iudicaret, *essent* urguendi magis, non ut diffiterentur se Christianos, sed ut de incestis stupris, de impiatis sacris, de infantibus immolatis faterentur.

§§ 6-11. *These stories are disseminated by demons, as are also the charges that Christians worship an ass's head and are guilty of other such monstrosities, charges to which the old religion is more liable than Christianity.*

6 His enim et huiusmodi fabulis idem daemones ad exsecrationis horrorem imperitorum aures adversus nos referserunt. Nec tamen mirum, cum omnium fama, quae semper insparsis mendaciis alitur, ostensa veritate consumitur, si et negotium daemonum: ab ipsis enim rumor falsus et seritur et fovetur.

7 Inde est quod audire te dicis, caput asini rem nobis esse divinam. Quis tam stultus, ut hoc colat? Quis stultior, ut hoc coli credat? Nisi quod vos et totos asinos in stabulis cum vestra vel Epona consecratis et eosdem asinos cum Iside religiose devoratis, item boum capita et capita vervecum et immolatis et colitis, de

capro etiam et homine mixtos deos et leonum et canum
vultu deos dedicatis. Nonne et Ap*in* bovem cum 8
Aegyptiis adoratis et pascitis? Nec eorum sacra
damnatis instituta serpentibus, crocodillis, beluis ceteris
et avibus et piscibus, quorum aliquem deum si quis
occiderit, etiam capite punitur. Idem Aegyptii cum 9
plerisque vobis non magis Isidem quam ceparum acri-
monias metuunt, nec Serapidem magis quam strepitus
per pudenda corporis expressos contremiscunt.

Etiam ille, qui de adoratis sacerdotis virilibus ad- 10
versum nos fabulatur, temptat in nos conferre quae sua
sunt. Ista*e* enim impudicitiae eorum forsitan sacra sint,
apud quos sexus omnis membris omnibus prostat, apud
quos tota impudicitia vocatur urbanitas, qui scortorum
licentiae invident, qui medios viros lambunt, libidinoso
ore inguinibus inhaerescunt, homines malae linguae etiam
si tacerent, quos prius taedescit impudicitiae suae quam
pudescit. Proh nefas! id in se mali facinoris admittunt, 11
quod nec aetas potest pati mollior nec cogi servitus
durior.

CHAPTER XXIX

§§ 1-5. *Such crimes among Christians are inconceivable. Equally false is the charge that Christians worship a merely human crucified malefactor. The disciples of the old religion are guilty of man-worship.*

Haec et huiusmodi propudia nobis non licet nec 1
audire, etiam pluribus turpe defendere est: ea enim de
castis fingitis et pudicis, quae fieri non crederemus, nisi
de vobis probaretis.

Nam quod religioni nostrae hominem noxium et 2
crucem eius ascribitis, longe de vicinia veritatis erratis,
qui putatis deum credi aut meruisse noxium aut potuisse

3 terrenum. Ne ille miserabilis, cuius in homine mortali
spes omnis innititur: totum enim eius auxilium cum
4 exstincto homine finitur. Aegyptii sane hominem sibi
quem colant eligunt: illum unum propitiant, illum de
omnibus consulunt, illi victimas caedunt. At illi, qui
ceteris deus, sibi certe homo est, velit nolit: nec enim
5 conscientiam suam decipit, si fallit alienam. Etiam prin-
cipibus et regibus, non ut magnis et electis viris, sicut fas
est, sed ut deis turpiter adulatio falsa blanditur, cum et
praeclaro viro honor verius et optimo amor dulcius prae-
beatur. Sic eorum numen vocant, ad imagines suppli-
cant, genium, id est daemonem, implorant, et est eis
tutius per Iovis genium peierare quam regis.

§§ 6-8. *Christians are not cross-worshippers. Romans of the old persuasion are more liable to the charge.*

6 Cruces etiam nec colimus nec optamus. Vos plane,
qui ligneos deos consecratis, cruces ligneas ut deorum
7 vestrorum partes forsitan adoratis. Nam et signa ipsa et
cantabra et vexilla castrorum quid aliud quam inauratae
cruces sunt et ornatae? Tropaea vestra victricia non
tantum simplicis crucis faciem, verum et adfixi hominis
8 imitantur. Signum sane crucis naturaliter visimus in
navi, cum velis tumentibus vehitur, cum expansis
palmulis labitur: et cum erigitur iugum, crucis signum
est, et cum homo porrectis manibus deum pura mente
veneratur. Ita signo crucis aut ratio naturalis innititur
aut vestra religio formatur.

CHAPTER XXX

A reply to the charge of child murder as an initiation ceremony (9. 6). *An indictment of paganism for murder.*

Illum iam velim convenire, qui initiari nos dicit aut 1
credit de caede infantis et sanguine. Putas posse fieri,
ut tam molle, tam parvulum corpus fata vulnerum
capiat? ut quisquam illum rudem sanguinem novelli et
vixdum hominis caedat, fundat, exhauriat? Nemo hoc
potest credere nisi qui possit audere. Vos enim video 2
procreatos filios nunc feris et avibus exponere, nunc
astrangulatos misero mortis genere elidere; sunt quae in
ipsis visceribus, medicaminibus epotis, originem futuri
hominis exstinguant et parricidium faciant antequam
pariant. Et haec utique de deorum vestrorum disciplina 3
descendunt. Nam Saturnus filios suos non exposuit, sed
voravit. Merito ei in nonnullis Africae partibus
a parentibus infantes immolabantur, blanditiis et osculo
comprimente vagitum, ne flebilis hostia immolaretur. 4
Tauris etiam Ponticis et Aegyptio Busiridi ritus fuit
hospites immolare, et Mercurio Gallos humanas vel inhumanas victimas caedere, Romani Graecum et Graecam,
Gallum et Gallam sacrificii viventes obruere, hodieque ab
ipsis Latiaris Iuppiter homicidio colitur, et quod Saturni
filio dignum est, mali et noxii hominis sanguine saginatur. 5
Ipsum credo docuisse sanguinis foedere coniurare Catilinam,
et Bellonam sacrum suum haustu humani cruoris imbuere,
et comitialem morbum hominis sanguine, id est morbo
graviore sanare. Non dissimiles et qui de harena feras 6
devorant illitas et infectas cruore vel membris hominis et
viscere saginatas. Nobis homicidium nec videre fas nec
audire, tantumque ab humano sanguine cavemus, ut nec
edulium pecorum in cibis sanguinem noverimus.

CHAPTER XXXI

§§ 1-5. *The charge of licentious conduct at the Christians' feasts* (9. 6-7) *is unfounded. It is a concoction of the demons. Pagans and their gods are notorious for these shameless excesses.*

1 Et de incesto convivio fabulam grandem adversum nos daemonum coitio mentita est, ut gloriam pudicitiae deformis infamiae a*sp*ersione macularet, ut ante exploratam veritatem homines a nobis terrore infandae opinionis
2 averteret. Sic de isto et tuus Fronto non ut affirmator testimonium fecit, sed convicium ut orator aspersit: haec enim potius de vestris gentibus nata sunt. Ius est
3 apud Persas misceri cum matribus. Aegyptiis et Athenis cum sororibus legitima conubia, memoriae et tragoediae vestrae incestis gloriantur, quas vos libenter et legitis et auditis; sic et deos colitis incestos, cum matre, cum filia,
4 cum sorore coniunctos. Merito igitur incestum penes vos saepe deprehenditur, semper admittitur: etiam nescientes miseri potestis in illicita proruere, dum Venerem promisce spargitis, dum passim liberos seritis, dum etiam domi natos alienae misericordiae frequenter exponitis: necesse est in vestros recurrere, in filios inerrare. Sic incesti fabulam nectitis, etiam cum conscientiam non habetis.

5 At nos pudorem non facie, sed mente praestamus: unius matrimonii vinculo libenter inhaeremus; cupiditate procreandi aut unam scimus aut nullam. Convivia non tantum pudica colimus, sed et sobria: nec enim indulgemus epulis aut convivium mero ducimus, sed gravitate hilaritatem temperamus: casto sermone, corpore castiore plerique inviolati corporis virginitate perpetua fruuntur potius quam gloriantur: tantum denique abest

incesti cupido, ut nonnullis rubori sit etiam pudica coniunctio.

§§ 6-8. *Christians are neither vile nor disloyal. Virtue and fraternal charity are their distinctive traits; hence their increase in numbers* (9. 2).

Nec de ultima statim plebe consistimus, si honores 6
vestros et purpuras recusamus; nec factiosi sumus, si omnes unum bonum sapimus eadem congregati quiete qua singuli; nec in angulis garruli, si audire nos publice aut erubescitis aut timetis.

Et quod in dies nostri numerus augetur, non est 7
crimen erroris, sed testimonium laudis; nam in pulchro genere vivendi et perseverat suus et accrescit alienus.
Sic nos denique non notaculo corporis, ut putatis, sed 8
innocentiae ac modestiae signo facile dinoscimus; sic *nos* mutuo, quod doletis, amore diligimus, quoniam odisse non novimus: sic nos, quod invidetis, fratres vocamus, ut unius dei parentis homines, ut consortes fidei, ut spei coheredes. Vos enim nec invicem agnoscitis et in mutua odia saevitis, nec fratres vos nisi sane ad parricidium recognoscitis.

CHAPTER XXXII

§§ 1-3. *The Christians do not conceal the object of their worship as alleged* (10. 2). *Man is God's own image and man's soul His most fitting temple. Integrity of life is the most acceptable sacrifice.*

Putatis autem nos occultare quod colimus, si delubra 1
et aras non habemus? Quod enim simulacrum deo fingam, cum, si recte existimes, sit dei homo ipse

simulacrum? Templum quod ei exstruam, cum totus hic mundus eius opere fabricatus eum capere non possit? Et cum homo latius maneam, intra unam aediculam vim
2 tantae maiestatis includam? Nonne melius in nostra dedicandus est mente? In nostro immo consecrandus est pectore. Hostias et victimas deo offeram, quas in usum mei protulit, ut reiciam ei suum munus? Ingratum est cum sit litabilis hostia bonus animus et
3 pura mens et sincera sententia. Igitur qui innocentiam colit, deo supplicat; qui iustitiam, deo libat; qui fraudibus abstinet, propitiat deum; qui hominem periculo surripit, optimam victimam caedit. Haec nostra sacrificia, haec dei sacra sunt: sic apud nos religiosior est ille qui iustior.

§§ 4-9. *If God cannot be seen* (10. 5), *his presence can be felt in all the phenomena of nature. He is ubiquitous and omniscient.*

4 At enim quem colimus deum nec ostendimus nec videmus. Immo ex hoc deum credimus, quod eum sentire possumus, videre non possumus. In operibus enim eius et in mundi omnibus motibus virtutem eius semper praesentem aspicimus, cum tonat, fulgurat,
5 fulminat, cum serenat. Nec mireris, si deum non vides: vento et flatibus omnia impelluntur, vibrantur, agitantur, et sub oculis tamen non venit ventus et flatus. In sole*m* adeo, qui videndi omnibus causa est, videre non possumus, radiis acies summovetur, obtutus intuentis hebetatur, et si diutius inspicias, omnis visus exstinguitur.
6 Quid? ipsum solis artificem, illum luminis fontem possis sustinere, cum te ab eius fulgoribus avertas, a fulminibus abscondas? Deum oculis carnalibus vis videre, cum

ipsam animam tuam, qua vivificaris et loqueris, nec aspicere possis nec tenere?

Sed enim deus actum hominis ignorat et in caelo 7
constitutus non potest aut omnes obire aut singulos nosse. Erras, o homo, et falleris: unde enim deus longe est, cum omnia caelestia terrenaque et quae extra istam orbis provinciam sunt, deo cognita, plena sint?
Ubique non tantum nobis proximus, sed infusus est. In 8
solem adeo rursus intende: caelo adfixus, sed terris omnibus sparsus est: pariter praesens ubique interest et miscetur omnibus, nusquam eius claritudo violatur.
Quanto magis deus auctor omnium ac speculator omnium, 9
a quo nullum potest esse secretum, tenebris interest, interest cogitationibus nostris, quasi alteris tenebris! Non tantum sub illo agimus, sed et cum illo, ut prope dixerim, vivimus.

CHAPTER XXXIII

The whole world is merely one household in God's sight (10. 5). *While the Jews obeyed the laws of God they were successful in peace and war* (10. 4). *He foretold their destruction if they persisted in disobedience.*

Nec nobis de nostra frequentia blandiamur: multi 1
nobis videmur, sed deo admodum pauci sumus. Nos gentes nationesque distinguimus: deo una domus est mundus hic totus. Reges tamen regni sui per officia ministrorum universa noverunt: deo indiciis opus non est: non solum in oculis eius, sed in sinu vivimus.

Sed Iudaeis nihil profuit, quod unum et ipsi deum 2
aris atque templis maxima superstitione coluerunt. Ignorantia laberis, si priorum aut oblitus aut inscius

3 posteriorum recordaris. Nam et ipsi deum nostrum,
—idem enim omnium deus est,—quamdiu caste, innoxie
religioseque coluerunt, quamdiu praeceptis salubribus
obtemperaverunt, de paucis innumeri facti, de egentibus
divites, de servientibus reges: modici multos, inermi
armatos, dum fugiunt insequentes, dei iussu et elementis
4 adnitentibus obruerunt. Scripta eorum relege, vel, si
Romanis magis gaudes, ut transeamus veteres, Flavi
Iosephi vel Antoni Iuliani de Iudaeis require: iam
scies, nequitia sua hanc eos meruisse fortunam, nec
quidquam accidisse quod non sit his, si in contumacia
5 perseverarent, ante praedictum. Ita prius eos deseruisse
comprehendes quam esse desertos nec, ut impie loqueris,
cum deo suo captos, sed a deo ut disciplinae transfugas
deditos.

CHAPTER XXXIV

§§ 1-5. *The Christian belief in the destruction of the world by fire* (see 11. 12) *is nothing new. The Stoics and Epicureans hold that view. Plato, too, holds that God, who made it, can destroy it.*

1 Ceterum de incendio mundi, aut improvisum ignem
cadere aut *umorem deficere haud* difficile, non credere
2 vulgaris erroris est. Quis enim sapientium dubitat,
quis ignorat, omnia quae orta sunt, occidere, quae facta
sunt, interire, caelum quoque cum omnibus quae caelo
continentur, ita ut coepisse, *si* desinere*nt* fontium dulcis
aqua *ac* maria nutrire, in vim ignis abiturum? Stoicis
constans opinio est, quod consumpto umore mundus hic
3 omnis ignescat. Et Epicureis de elementorum conflagra-
4 tione et mundi ruina eadem ipsa sententia est. *Eloquenter*
Plato partes orbis nunc inundare dicit, nunc alternis
vicibus ardescere, et cum ipsum mundum perpetuum et

insolubilem diceret esse fabricatum, addit tamen, ipsi
artifici deo soli et solubilem et esse mortalem. Ita nihil
mirum est, si ista moles ab eo, quo exstructa est,
destruatur.

Animadvertis philosophos eadem disputare quae 5
dicimus, non quod nos simus eorum vestigia subsecuti,
sed quod illi de divinis praedicationibus prophetarum
umbram interpolatae veritatis imitati sint.

§§ 6-12. *The Christian theory of Resurrection* (11. 2-8) *is little different from the teaching of Pythagoras and Plato. It is supported by the analogy of Nature.*

Sic etiam condicionem renascendi sapientium clariores, 6
Pythagoras primus et praecipuus Plato, corrupta et
dimidiata fide tradiderunt: nam corporibus dissolutis
solas animas volunt et perpetuo manere et in alia nova
corpora saepius commeare. Addunt istis et illa ad 7
retorquendam veritatem, in pecudes, aves, beluas homi-
num animas redire. Non philosophi sane studio, sed
mimi co*n*vicio digna ista sententia est. Sed ad pro- 8
positum satis est, etiam in hoc sapientes vestros in
aliquem modum nobiscum consonare.

Ceterum quis tam stultus aut brutus est, ut audeat 9
repugnare, hominem a deo, ut primum potuisse fingi, ita
posse denuo reformari? nihil esse post obitum, et ante
ortum nihil fuisse: sicut de nihilo nasci licuit, ita de
nihilo licere reparari? Porro difficilius est, id quod non
sit incipere, quam id quod fuit iterare. Tu perire et deo 10
credis, si quid oculis nostris hebetibus subtrahitur?
Corpus omne sive arescit in pulverem sive in umorem
solvitur vel in cinerem comprimitur vel in nidore*m*
tenuatur, subducitur nobis, sed deo elementorum custodia
reservatur. Nec, ut creditis, ullum damnum sepulturae

timemus, sed veterem et meliorem consuetudinem humandi frequentamus.

11 Vide, adeo, quam in solacium nostri resurrectionem futuram omnis natura meditetur. Sol demergit et nascitur, astra labuntur et redeunt, flores occidunt et revivescunt, post senium arbusta frondescunt, semina nonnisi corrupta revirescunt: ita corpus in saeculo, ut arbores in hiberno: occultant virorem ariditate mentita.
12 Quid festinas, ut cruda adhuc hieme revivescat et redeat? Expectandum nobis etiam corporis ver est.

Nec ignoro plerosque conscientia meritorum nihil se esse post mortem magis optare quam credere; malunt enim extingui penitus quam ad supplicia reparari. Quorum error augetur et in saeculo libertate remissa et dei patientia maxima, cuius quanto iudicium tardum, tanto magis iustum est.

CHAPTER XXXV

§§ 1-4. *We have the warnings of poets, prophets, and philosophers concerning the existence of that pool of fire which Jupiter himself fears, where an everlasting punishment of infinite intensity awaits those who ignore the true God.*

1 Et tamen admonentur homines doctissimorum libris et carminibus poetarum illius ignei fluminis et de Stygia palude saepius ambientis ardoris, quae cruciatibus aeternis praeparata, et daemonum indiciis et de oraculis
2 prophetarum cognita, tradiderunt. Et ideo apud eos etiam ipse rex Iuppiter per torrentes ripas et atram voraginem iurat religiose: destinatam enim sibi cum
3 suis cultoribus poenam praescius perhorrescit. Nec tormentis aut modus ullus aut terminus. Illic sapiens

ignis membra urit et reficit, carpit et nutrit. Sicut ignes fulminum corpora tangunt nec absumunt, sicut ignes *Aetna*ei montis et Vesvii montis et ardentium ubique terrarum flagrant nec erogantur: ita poenale illud incendium non damnis ardentium pascitur, sed inexesa corporum laceratione nutritur.

Eos autem merito torqueri, qui deum nesciunt, ut 4
impios, ut iniustos, nisi profanus nemo deliberat, cum
parentem omnium et omnium dominum non minoris
sceleris sit ignorare quam laedere.

§§ 5-6. *The morality of Christians is superior to that of their opponents. Christian criminals there are none, except they be renegades or that their religion be their crime.*

Et quamquam imperitia dei sufficiat ad poenam, ita 5
ut notitia prosit ad veniam, tamen si vobiscum Christiani
comparemur, quamvis in nonnullis disciplina nostra minor
est, multo tamen vobis meliores deprehendemur. Vos 6
enim adulteria prohibetis et facitis, nos uxoribus nostris
solum*m*odo viri nascimur: vos scelera admissa punitis,
apud nos et cogitare peccare est: vos conscios timetis,
nos etiam conscientiam solam, sine qua esse non possumus:
denique de vestro numero carcer exaestuat, Christianus ibi
nullus nisi aut reus suae religionis aut profugus.

CHAPTER XXXVI

§§ 1-2. *The theory of fate* (11. 6) *does not prejudice the Christian doctrine of merit.*

Nec de fato quisquam aut solacium captet aut excuset 1
eventum: sit sors fortunae, mens tamen libera est, et
ideo actus hominis, non dignitas iudicatur. Quid enim 2

aliud est fatum quam quod de unoquoque nostrum deus fatus est? Qui cum possit praescire materiam, pro meritis et qualitatibus singulorum etiam fata determinat. Ita in nobis non genitura plectitur, sed ingenii natura punitur. Ac de fato satis, vel si pauca, pro tempore, disputaturi alias et uberius et plenius.

§§ 3-7. *Poverty is the pride of the Christian, not his disgrace* (12. 1-3). *The Christian can never be really poor.*

3 Ceterum quod plerique pauperes dicimur, non est in-
famia nostra, sed gloria: animus enim ut luxu solvitur,
4 ita frugalitate firmatur. Et tamen quis potest pauper
esse qui non eget, qui non inhiat alieno, qui deo dives
est? Magis pauper ille est, qui cum multa habeat, plura
5 desiderat. Dicam tamen quemadmodum sentio: nemo
tam pauper potest esse quam natus est. Aves sine patri-
monio vivunt et in diem pecua pascuntur: et haec nobis
tamen nata sunt, quae omnia, si non concupiscimus,
6 possidemus. Igitur ut qui viam terit, eo felicior quo
levior incedit, ita beatior in hoc itinere vivendi, qui
paupertate se sublevat, non sub divitiarum onere suspirat.
7 Et tamen facultates, si utiles putaremus, a deo posceremus:
utique indulgere posset aliquantum cuius est totum. Sed
nos contemnere malumus opes quam continere, innocentiam
magis cupimus, magis patientiam flagitamus, malumus
nos bonos esse quam prodigos.

§§ 8-9. *Suffering is the Christian's lot: his life is a warfare. God can and does assist him, but tries him in adversity* (12. 3-4).

8 Et quod corporis humana vitia sentimus et patimur,
non est poena, militia est. Fortitudo enim infirmitatibus

roboratur et calamitas saepius disciplina virtutis est: vires denique et mentis et corporis sine laboris exercitatione torpescunt. Omnes adeo vestri viri fortes, quos in exemplum praedicatis, aerumnis suis inclyti floruerunt.
Itaque et nobis deus nec non potest subvenire nec 9
despicit, cum sit et omnium rector et amator suorum, sed in adversis unumquemque explorat et examinat, ingenium singulorum periculis pensitat, usque ad extremam mortem voluntatem hominis sciscitatur, nihil sibi posse perire securus. Itaque ut aurum ignibus, sic nos discriminibus arguimur.

CHAPTER XXXVII

§§ 1-6. *What a noble figure is that of the Christian battling in the cause of God! Christian boys and girls have equalled and surpassed the bravest deeds of Roman heroes.*

Quam pulchrum spectaculum deo, cum Christianus 1
cum dolore congreditur, cum adversum minas et supplicia et tormenta componitur, cum strepitum mortis et horrorem carnificis i*r*ridens inculcat, cum libertatem suam adversus reges et principes erigit, soli deo, cuius est, cedit, cum triumphator et victor ipsi, qui adversum se sententiam dixit, *in*sultat. Vicit enim qui, quod contendit, obtinuit.
Quis non miles sub oculis imperatoris audacius periculum 2
provocet? Nemo enim praemium percipit ante experimentum. Et imperator tamen quod non habet, non dat: non potest propagare vitam, potest honestare militiam.
At enim dei miles nec in dolore deseritur nec morte 3
finitur. Sic Christianus miser videri potest, non potest inveniri. Vos ipsi calamitosos viros fertis ad caelum, *ut*

Mucium Scaevolam, qui cum errasset in regem, perisset
4 in hostibus, nisi dexteram perdidisset. Et quot ex nostris, non dextram solum, sed totum corpus uri cremari sine ullis eiulatibus pertulerunt, cum dimitti praesertim
5 haberent in sua potestate. Viros cum Mucio vel cum Aquilio aut Regulo comparo? Pueri et mulierculae nostrae cruces et tormenta, feras et omnes suppliciorum
6 terriculas inspirata patientia doloris illudunt. Nec intellegitis, o miseri, neminem esse qui aut sine ratione velit poenam subire aut tormenta sine deo poss*it* sustinere.

§§ 7-10. *Wealth and power are transitory. Knowledge of God leads to abiding happiness* (12-5).

7 Nisi forte vos decipit, quod deum nescientes divitiis affluant, honoribus floreant, polleant potestatibus. Miseri in hoc altius tolluntur, ut decidant altius. Hi enim ut victimae ad supplicium saginantur, ut hostiae ad poenam coronantur; in hoc adeo quidam imperiis ac dominationibus eriguntur, ut ingenium eorum perditae mentis licentiae
8 potestatis libere nundinentur. Absque enim notitia dei quae potest esse solida felicitas, cum mors sit? Somnio
9 similis, antequam tenetur, elabitur. Rex es? sed tam times quam timeris, et quamlibet sis multo comitatu stipatus, ad periculum tamen solus es. Dives es? Sed fortunae male creditur et magno viatico breve vitae iter
10 non instruitur, sed oneratur, Fascibus et purpuris gloriaris? Vanus error hominis et inanis cultus dignitatis fulgere purpura, mente sordescere. Nobilitate generosus es? Parentes tuos laudas? Omnes tamen pari sorte nascimur, sola virtute distinguimur.

§§ 11-12. *If Christians do not attend processions and shows it is because of the religious significance of these. Vulgarity, obscenity and murder are the characteristics of Roman amusements.*

Nos igitur, qui moribus et pudore censemur, merito 11
malis voluptatibus et pompis vestris et spectaculis abstinemus, quorum et de sacris originem novimus et noxia blandimenta damnamus. Nam in ludis currulibus quis non horreat populi in se rixantis insaniam? in gladiatoriis homicidii disciplinam? In scenicis etiam non minor 12
furor et turpitudo prolixior: nunc enim mimus vel exponit adulteria vel monstrat, nunc enervis histrio, amorem dum fingit, infligit: idem deos vestros induendo stupra, suspiria, odia dedecorat, idem simulatis doloribus lacrimas vestras vanis gestibus et nutibus provocat: sic homicidium in vero flagitatis, in mendacio fletis.

CHAPTER XXXVIII

§§ 1-4. *The reason why Christians abstain from the meats and wines of sacrifice. The Christians' use of flowers is more reasonable than the pagan Roman use* (12. 5-6).

Quod vero sacrificiorum reliquias et pocula delibata 1
contemnimus, non confessio timoris est, sed verae libertatis assertio. Nam, etsi omne quod nascitur, ut inviolabile dei munus, nullo opere corrumpitur, abstinemus tamen, ne quis *nos* existimet aut daemoniis, quibus libatum est, cedere aut nostrae religionis pudere. Quis autem ille qui 2
dubitat, vernis indulgere nos floribus, cum carpamus et rosam veris et lilium et quidquid aliud in floribus blandi coloris et odoris est? His enim et sparsis utimur mollibus

ac solutis et sertis colla complectimur. Sane quod caput non coronamus, ignoscite: auram bonam floris naribus ducere, non occipitio capillisve solemus haurire.

3 Nec mortuos coronamus. Ego vos in hoc magis miror, quemadmodum tribuatis exanimi aut sentienti facem aut non sentienti coronam, cum et beatus non egeat et miser
4 non gaudeat floribus. At enim nos exsequias adornamus eadem tranquillitate qua vivimus, nec adnectimus arescentem coronam, sed a deo aeternis floribus vividam sustinemus: quieti, modesti, dei nostri liberalitate securi, spem futurae felicitatis fide praesentis eius maiestatis animamus. Sic et beati resurgimus et futuri contemplatione iam vivimus.

§§ 5-7. *Christians do great things, not merely say them like the philosophers. They have reason to rejoice too, that they have discovered the truth for which the others laboured in vain.*

5 Proinde Socrates scurra Atticus viderit, nihil se scire confessus, testimonio licet fallacissimi daemonis gloriosus, Arcesilas quoque et Carneades et Pyrrho et omnis Academicorum multitudo deliberet, Simonides etiam in perpetuum comperendinet: philosophorum supercilia contemnimus, quos corruptores et adulteros novimus et
6 tyrannos et semper adversus sua vitia facundos. Nos non habitu sapientiam sed mente praeferimus, non eloquimur magna sed vivimus, gloriamur nos consecutos quod illi summa intentione quaesiverunt nec invenire potuerunt.

7 Quid ingrati sumus, quid nobis invidemus, si veritas divinitatis nostri temporis aetate maturuit? Fruamur bono nostro et recti sententiam temperemus: cohibeatur superstitio, impietas expietur, vera religio reservetur."

CHAPTER XXXIX

Minucius is delighted with the speech of Octavius.

Cum Octavius perorasset, aliquamdiu nos ad silentium stupefacti intentos vultus tenebamus, et quod ad me est, magnitudine admirationis evanui, quod ea, quae facilius est sentire quam dicere, et argumentis et exemplis et lectionum auctoritatibus adornasset, et quod malevolos isdem illis quibus armantur, philosophorum telis retudisse*t*, ostendisset etiam veritatem non tantummodo facilem sed et favorabilem.

CHAPTER XL

Mutual congratulations. Caecilius is converted to Christianity.

Dum istaec igitur apud me tacitus evolvo, Caecilius 1
erupit: "Ego Octavio meo plurimum quantum, sed et mihi gratulor nec expecto sententiam. Vicimus et ita,—ut improbe usurpo victoriam!—nam ut ille mei victor est, ita ego triumphator erroris.

Itaque, quod pertineat ad summam quaestionis, et de 2
providentia fateor et *de* deo cedo et de sectae iam nostrae sinceritate consentio. Etiam nunc tamen aliqua consubsidunt non obstrepentia veritati, sed perfectae institutioni necessaria, de quibus crastino, quod iam sol occasui declivis est, ut de toto congruentes, promptius requiremus."

"At ego," inquam, "prolixius omnium nostrum vice 3
gaudeo, quod etiam mihi Octavius vicerit, cum maxima iudicandi mihi invidia detracta sit. Nec tamen possum meritum eius verborum laudibus repensare: testimonium

et hominis et unius infirmum est: habet dei munus eximium, a quo et inspiratus oravit et obtinuit adiutus."

4 Post haec laeti hilaresque discessimus: Caecilius quod crediderit, Octavius quod vicerit, ego et quod hic crediderit et hic vicerit.

NOTES

CHAPTER I

§ 1. Compare the opening of Cic. *De Orat.*, *cogitanti mihi saepenumero et memoria vetera recensenti* (1. 1); *instituenti mihi . . . eum sermonem referre . . . acerba sane recordatio veterem animi curam molestiamque renovavit* (3. 1).

Octavi: Introd. vi. B 1.

boni . . . contubernalis: note combination of pos. and superl.; cf. pos. and compar. 8. 4; 5. 11. *Contubernalis*, primarily a milit. term; one who forms part of the personal retinue of a commander in the field, lit. one who lives in the same tent (*cum*, *taberna*); hence "an intimate friend," "comrade."

dulcedo et affectio = *dulcis affectio*; hendiadys. *Affectio* in class. Lat.: (1) a disposit. or relat. towards; mostly in philosoph. lang. (Cic. *Top.* 18. 68); (2) a transient or permanent condition of mind or body (*id.*, *Inv.* 1. 25); in post-Aug. prose "love," "affection" as here; cf. Tac. *A.* 4. 15.

hominis: for *eius.*

in praeterita redire: cf. *in memoriam redeo mortuorum* (Cic. *Sen.* 7. 21).

transacta . . . decursa: cf. *prope acta iam aetate decursaque* (Cic. *Quint.* 31. 99).

recordatione revocare: poet. for class. *memoria repetere*; cf. *et primae revocabo exordia pugnae* (Verg. *A.* 7. 40).

§ 2. **contemplatio** = *imago*: abstr. for concrete. Introd. v. C 1.

pectori . . . sensibus implicata: cf.—

> *ac dum prima lues*
> *pertemptat sensus atque ossibus implicat ignem*
> *necdum animus toto percepit pectore flammam.*
> (Verg. *A.* 7. 353-5.)

§ 3. **nec immerito**, "and no wonder that."

discedens, "when departing"; prob. = *decedens*, which Davies reads. It appears from context that Octavius was now dead. *Discedere* = *mori* is found in African Inscr. (*C.I.L.* vol. viii. (Wilmann's) 9747; 9751 etc.). Confusion in MSS. between *disc* and *dec* is not infrequent (see Schöne edit. p. 168).

vir eximius, etc.: cf. *vir egregius coniunctissimusque mecum . . . extinctus et auctoritatis et prudentiae suae triste nobis desiderium reliquerat* (Cic. *Orat.* 1. 2). *Sanctus*, "conscientious," "holy," as freq. in Cic.

utpote cum: cf. Cic. *Legg.* 1. 5; *Att.* 5. 8. 1; rare in class. Lat., freq. in Jurists.

et ipse, "he too, for his part." Introd. v. C 12.

nostri: Introd. v. C 20.

et in ludicris . . . seriis: *ioca atque seria* is the usual expression (Cic. *Fin.* 2. 26. 85; Livy 1. 4. 9). The prepos. should be repeated before *seriis* as there is a contrast; but even Cic. sometimes omits it (*Mil.* 2. 5). The fate of smaller prepositions in MSS. is precarious.

concineret, "was in harmony with"; Gk. συνᾴδειν.

eadem velle . . . nolle: epexeget. infins. after *concineret*, equivalent to Gk. ὥστε with infin.; class. Lat. requires *ita ut* with subj.; the phrase was stereotyped; *idem velle atque idem nolle, ea demum firma amicitia est* (Sall. *Cat.* 20. 4); *illud dulcissimum et honestissimum idem velle atque idem nolle* (Sen. *Ep.* 109. 16); cf. Cic. *Planc.* 2. 5.

unam mentem: they were such another pair as Pylades and Orestes (*qui duo corporibus, mentibus unus erant*, Ov. *Trist.* 4. 4. 72). Cf. μία ψυχὴ δύσι σώμασιν ἐνοικοῦσα (Aristot. ap. Diog. Laert. 5. 20); *animae dimidium meae* (Hor. *O.* 1. 3. 5; cf. 2. 17. 5); Ov. *Trist.* 4. 10. 31; Cic. *Amicit.* 92. Compare the friendship of Scipio and Laelius (*id.*, *ibid.* 15).

§ 4. **sic,** "thus for example" (Cic. *Inv.* 1. 49. 91).

amoribus, etc.: "love affairs," the rend. of Gronovius, seems preferable to "predilections, tastes" of Waltzing. Cf. *mihi in privatis omnibus conscius* (Cic. *Att.* 1. 18. 1). *Erroribus*, "wanderings from the truth," a meaning of *error* freq. in class. Lat. *Ipse*, stronger than *idem*, "he and none other." Introd. vi. C 12. Note paronomasia.

de . . . profundo: Introd. vi. C 18. Cf. *Democritus* (*dixit*) *in profundo veritatem esse demersam* (Cic. *Acad.* 1. 12. 44).

sapientiae: i.e. Christianity; cf. *sapientia . . . nihil aliud . . . quam notitia dei* (Lact. *Div. Inst.* 7. 9. 12). Just. M. uses

φιλοσοφία similarly (*Dial. c. Tryph.* 8). Cf. *Illuminare his qui in tenebris et in umbra mortis sedent* (Luke, *Evang.* 1. 79).

praecucurrit : Octavius was converted before Minucius, but the latter was considering the matter (*emergerem*) before him.

§ 5. **mentis intentio** = *mens intenta*, "fixed attention." Introd. v. C 19. Abstr. for concrete, cf. *cogitatio.* Introd. vi. C 1.

quo Q. : Baehrens for *quod* of P, the confusion between the capitals being likely. The praenomen of Caecilius is not elsewhere mentioned.

etiamnunc : i.e. at time of discussion ; a class. usage.

reformavit : *reformare,* to remould so as to assume the old form or a new one ; here in lat. sense ; cf. *aliquem in alienam personam reformare* (Apul. *M.* 11. 272) ; *id., ibid.* 3. 139. Post-Aug.

CHAPTER II

§ 1. Compare this description with the opening of Cic. *Somn. Scip.*

amabilius, "more lovable" than anything else ; the second term of the comparison is not expressed.

annis innocentibus : abl. of description. Introd. vi. C 4.

loquelam : in apposit. to phr. *dimidiata . . . temptantibus* ; cf. *vulgo ex oppido gratulabantur, ineptum sane negotium et graeculum* (Cic. *Tusc.* 1. 35. 86).

ipso . . . dulciorem, "the more charming for the very havoc wrought by the faltering tongue." *Fragmen,* chiefly poet. and post-class. ; freq. in Tac. for class. *fragmentum.* Cf. *nutricis blanda atque infracta loquela* (Lucr. 5. 230).

§ 2. **sermonibus** = *verbis.*

impatienti here = *immoderato* ; post-class. ; cf. *ambitio impatiens* (Cassiod. *Var.* 2. 30).

cum maxime, "particularly as" ; = *praesertim cum* ; cf. *praecipue cum* (17. 2).

§ 3. **unum et alterum diem,** "a day or two."

aviditatem desiderii, "eager longing." Introd. v. C 19. For similar expressions cf. Cic. *Phil.* 10. 8. 16 ; *N.D.* 2. 47. 122 ; *Amicit.* 9. 29.

assiduitatis, "continual presence" ; cf. Cic. *Deiot.* 42 ; Suet. *Tib.* 10.

absentiam mutuam : Schöne rejects *mutuam* as a gloss (*mutua*) on *alterna* foll. Such amplitude of expression, however, to complete the thought is quite Latin. See Berger, *Stylistique Lat.* (Fr. trans.) §§ 80-82.

relatione : here "narration" ; post-Aug.

Ostiam: Baiae and Ostia were favourite resorts of wealthy Romans (Juv. *S.* 11. 49).

esset: subj. in sub-obliq. or. after *placuit*.

corpori . . . apposita: *corpori* is dat. of advant.; *umoribus siccandis*, dat. of purp. after *apposita* (= *apta*, *accommodata*). When gerund or gerundive follows these words Cic. and Caes. construe with *ad*. Introd. vi. C 22.

de lavacris: *de*, "consisting of." Introd. vi. C 48; *lavacris*, post-class.

blanda: cf. *blandissima litora*, *Baiae* (Stat. *Silv.* 3. 5. 96).

sane et, "exactly too"; *et* = *etiam* as freq. in Minucius.

ad vindemiam feriae: *ad vindem.* = *vindemiales*. Introd. v. C 48. For *ad* "with a view to" cf. *quibus ad pugnam non multum confidebat* (Caes. *B.G.* 3. 25. 1); Cic. *De Or.* 3. 15. 56. The closing of the courts for the autumn holidays (22 Aug.–15 Oct.) was for the convenience of the country-people engaged in harvesting operations.

temperiem, "mildness"; for class. *temperatio*; cf. *temperiemque dedit mixta cum frigore flamma* (Ov. *M.* 1. 51).

autumnitas: arch. for *autumnus*.

§ 4. **inambulando litori**: dat. of purp. Introd. v. C 22. *Litori* Cellarius for *litore* of P. *Inambulare* in class. Lat. is intrans., but Cic. uses *ambulare* trans., *maria ambulavisset* (*Fin.* 2. 34); cf. *paradisum animo deambulare* (Jer. *Ep.* 100. 9).

aura . . . leniter: cf. *leniter aspirans aura* (Catull. 68. 64).

vegetaret: post-class.

molli vestigio, "gentle footstep." Note poetic description.

Serapidis: an Egyptian divinity whose worship was introd. into Rome with that of Isis; see 22. 10.

vulgus: here masc.; neut. 18. 10; 23. 9. Neut. is far more general, but masc. sometimes found, e.g. Lucr. freq., Verg. *A.* 2. 99; Livy 6. 34. 5; 24. 32. 1.

labiis pressit: *labiis*, abl. of instrument. Cf. *oscula iungere pressa* (Ov. *H.* 2. 94). For the custom of thus saluting a god cf Job 31. 27; Kings 19. 18; Hosea 13. 2; Pliny, *N.H.* 28. 2; Apul. *M.* 4. 28; Cic. *Verr.* 2. 4. 43. Note metr. end., ⏑ ⏑ – | – ⏑. Introd. v. F.

CHAPTER III

§ 1. **Marce frater**: *Marcus* was the praenomen of Minucius Felix. *Frater*, a term of affection in class. Lat., had a special signif. for Christians. Cf. Tert. *Ad Scap.* 1; *Virg. Veland.* 2;

Clem. Alex. *Strom.* 2. 9 ; Just. M. *Apol.* 1. 14 ; Athenag. *Suppl.* 11. See Mayor, Tert. *Apol.* 39.

lateri inhaerentem : it was customary for young Romans engaged in the study of eloquence to attach themselves to an orator of recognised merit. Cic. says he accompanied Q. Mucius Scaevola ; *ut a senis latere numquam discederem* (*Amic.* 1. 1). Cf. Tac. *De Orat.* 34. Probably this was the relation of Caecilius to Minucius.

imperitiae caecitate : Introd. vi. C 19.

luculento . . . impingere, "to dash against stones in broad daylight." *Impingere*, intrans. : cf. *aspirare*, *infundere* (26. 10) ; *inundare* (34. 4) ; *demergit* (34. 11) ; Tert. *Apol.* 3. 1. Cf. Clem. Alex. of a superstitious man *πάντα λίθον λιπαρὸν προσκυνεῖ* (*Strom.* 7. 845).

effigiatos . . . coronatos : *effigiatos*, post-Aug. (Apul. *M.* 11. 11 ; *Flor.* 1. 1) ; *sane*, concessive, "I admit." The custom of pouring oil and placing garlands on stones wrought into images was general in antiquity (*Gen.* 28. 18 ; 35. 14 ; Pausan. *Achaica*, 6. 3 ; Arnob. *Ad Nat.* 1. 39).

§ 2. **cum sermone** : for *cum* denoting simultaneity cf. *simul cum dono designavit fines* (Livy 1. 10. 5).

medium . . . civitatis, "the length of the town that intervened," i.e. between their lodgings and the shore. *Civitas* = *urbs*, *oppidum* is post-class. (Tac. *H.* 1. 63 ; Quint. 8. 3. 67).

liberum : free from buildings.

§ 3. **extimas** : rare but class. form of superl. of *exter* (Cic. *Rep.* 6. 17).

ambulacro : dat. of end in view. Introd. vi. C 22 ; "for a walk" ; arch. (Plaut. *Most.* 3. 2. 69) for class. *ambulatio*.

tendebat = *extendebat*. Introd. vi. A 5.

positis flatibus : poet. ; cf. *cum venti posuerunt omnisque repente resedit flatus* (Verg. *A.* 7. 27).

torosis : for this read. of P (*toro* /// *sis*) Daniel reads *tortuosis*, foll. by Waltzing ; *coruscisque* Schöne. Tr. "crimpled and swelling." *Torosus* is the adj. fr. *torus* "a swelling," "protuberance," e.g. of the muscle. Both epithets are applied to vegetables : *torosior caulis* (Pliny, *N.H.* 21. 15. 53) ; *crispa brassica* (Cato, *R.R.* 157. 2). *Tortuosus* would have been less liable to corruption, and is scarcely apposite.

ibidem, "just then."

erroribus : of uncontrolled movement ; cf. Lucr. on motion of atoms (2. 132).

ipso limine, "just at the brink."

alluderet: here trans.; cf. Catull. 64. 66; ordinarily intrans., *mare terram appetens litoribus alludit* (Cic. *N.D.* 2. 39. 100). *Pedibus*, dat. after *appulsum* and *alluderet*. *Fluctus*, accus. after *alluderet* and *resorberet.*

vestigia retrahens: cf. *retrahitque pedem simul unda relabens* (Verg. *A.* 10. 307). Note poetic description. Introd vi. A 8.

§ 4. **sensim**: i.e. so slowly that one could just feel (*sentio*) oneself moving.

molliter . . . fallentibus: cf. *molliter austerum studio fallente laborem* (Hor. *S.* 2. 2. 12); *id., ibid.* 2. 7. 14.

legebamus: poet. in this sense.

haec = *hae-ce*, arch. for *hae*; cf. 40. 1. Introd. vi. B 4.

Octavi: 1. 1.

§ 5. **iustum** contains the notion of the full or ordinary measure, without any defect or excess.

terebamus: poet. in this sense.

roboribus: beams or trunks of hard wood, such as oak. Abl. of means or instr. after *suspensae*; cf. *muro suspenso furculis* (Livy 38. 7. 9).

a . . . labe = *a caeno*; *a* denotes separation. *Labes* in lit. sense, as here, is poet. and post-Aug. Cic. speaks of a good-for-nothing wretch as *caenum illud ac labes* (*Sest.* 11. 26).

testarum . . . iaculationibus: the game of ἐποστρακισμός ("duck and drake"). For use of prepos. after verb. subst. see Introd. vi. C 48.

§ 6. **est legere**: sc. *aliquem*; "consists in gathering." Introd. vi. C 29. For repetition of *lusus*, *testa* cf. Cic. *De Or.* 1. 27. 123; *Amicit.* 5. 19.

levigatam = *politam*; post-class.

plano situ, "horizontally."

quantum potest = *quantum fieri potest*; cf. Plaut. *Men.* 5. 2; Ter. *Eun.* 5. 1. 20; *ut potest* (Cic. *Fam.* 1. 2. 4).

irrotare: ἅπαξ εἰρημ. Introd. vi. A 2.

iaculum, "projectile"; lit. "the thing thrown." In Plaut. (*Truc.* 1. 1. 14) and Ov. (*A.A.* 1. 763) applied to a casting-net.

raderet enataret: Holden for *raderet vel enataret* of P; symmetry is thus preserved. Halm brackets *vel enataret* and *emergeret* as glosses. Note asyndeton. Introd. vi. D. The tense is changed to the past after *legere*, as Minucius is describing the actual game he witnessed.

in pueris: for *e pueris* or *inter pueros*; cf. *in contubernalibus* (4. 4); *in deos* (21. 2); *in floribus* (38. 2).

CHAPTER IV

§ 1. **hac . . . voluptate**: hypallage. Introd. vi. E.

intendere . . . ridere: histor. infins.

tacens . . . segregatus: cf. Hom. *Il.* 6. 202.

dolere: sc. *se.* Introd. vi. C 8.

vultu fatebatur: cf. *qui vultu morbum incessuque fatetur* (Juv. *S.* 2. 17).

§ 2. **rei**: part. genit.

requiro = *desidero.*

§ 3. **Octavi**: 1. 1.

obiurgavit: Cic. construes with *de* (e.g. *Att.* 2. 1. 6). Minucius observes symmetry at cost of syntax. See Introd. vi. D.

ut . . . gravius: *ut* for *quo*; cf. *ut id libentius faciatis* (Cic. *Arch.* 11. 28).

inscientiae: note favourite metr. end. (trochee and cretic). Introd. vi. F.

§ 4. **toto integro,** "the whole question from the beginning"; for *totum* subst. cf. Cic. *Ad Quint.* 3. 1. 1. *Integer*, lit. "untouched," hence referring to a matter in which no decision had been reached; cf. *ea dicam, quae ipsi, re integra, saepe dixi* (Cic. *Mur.* 21. 43).

res est: cf. *tecum mihi res est* (*id.*, *R. Am.* 30. 84).

ipsius sectae homo, "an actual member of the sect" (Holden); i.e. not merely one who played the part as in rhetorical practice. *Sectae*: paganism as opposed to Christianity.

conserere sapientiam, "join issue in philosophy"; *conserere* from its associations with *manum*, *bellum*, *proelium* has the signif. "to join in hostility." This is to be a set battle, no friendly discussion (*in contubernalibus*). Cf. *haud ignotas belli artes inter se conserebant* (Livy 21. 1. 2). Heraldus reads *conserere sapienti manum*; Lindner *sapientium modo. Modo, etc.*

§ 5. **petrarum obicibus**: cf. *obice saxi* (Verg. *G.* 4. 422). *Obex* is mostly post-class. Introd. vi. D.

de, "after"; cf. Cic. *Att.* 12. 3.

§ 6. **cum dicto**: 3. 2.

me . . . ambitione: the middle was the place of honour; cf. *Hiempsal . . . dextra Adherbalem assedit, ne medius ex tribus, . . .*

Iugurtha foret (Sall. *I.* 11. 3); Ov. *F.* 5. 67. *Ambitio* is post-class. for *ambitus* ("surrounding"). *Lateris*, obj. genit.

obsequi : Introd. vi. B 1.

quippe cum : cf. *utpote cum* 1. 3.

amicitia, etc. : *amicitia pares aut accipit aut facit* was proverbial. Cf. Arist. λέγεται γὰρ φιλότης ἡ ἰσότης (*Eth.* 8. 7).

CHAPTER V

§ 1. **quamquam** in ante-class. Lat. always and in class. prose usually takes indic. Minucius always construes with subj.; cf. 14. 3; 26. 7; 35. 5.

de quo : sc. *id.* Introd. vi. C 8.

cum maxime, "just now"; Gk. νῦν γε μάλιστα. The phr. is a modification of *nunc ut cum maxime* (Ter. *Hec.* 1. 2. 40), the fuller form being *nunc cum maxime* (Cic. *Clu.* 5. 12; *Off.* 2. 7. 23; Livy 29. 17. 7).

utpote cum : 1. 3.

alterum comprobaris : *alterum* wanting in P; in *r.*

impraesentiarum = *in praesentia*; arch. (Cato, *R.R.* 144. 4) and post-Aug. (Tac. *A.* 4. 59. 5); very freq. in Apuleius; cf. *depraesentiarum* (Petr. 58. 3; 74. 17).

ne non tam = *ut potius*; cf. *vereor ne cui vestrum ex Socraticorum hominum disputationibus, non ex meo sensu deprompta haec videatur oratio* (Cic. *Parad.* 1. 1. 6).

§ 2. **mihi** : ethic dat.

novus : subst., as *novum, novissimum* freq. in class. Lat.

magis verisimilia quam vera : cf. Cic. *ars magis magna quam difficilis* (*De Or.* 1. 42. 190). This is the teaching of the New Academy. Cf. Cic. *N.D.* 1. 12; *Parad.* 1. 1.

§ 4. **et hoc,** "and that too"; Gk. καὶ ταῦτα.

profanos : lit. "before or outside the temple"; hence "uninitiated," "ignorant." Lact. construes with *ab* (*Div. Inst.* 2. 15. 2).

artium sordidarum : manual arts as opposed to *artes liberales.* Cf. ἄνθρωποι ἰδιῶται καὶ ἀγράμματοι (St. Paul, *Acts*, 4. 13).

summa ac maiestate : cf. *rerum summam* (Lucr. 2. 303); *maiestas rerum* (*id.* 5. 7).

tot omnibus : cf. *pleraque omnia* (Ter. *Heaut.* 4. 7. 2); *omnibus tot* (Tert. *Apol.* 35. 9).

deliberat : i.e. has not yet come to a decision.

§ 5. **nec immerito** : 1. 3; sc. *deliberat.*

divina = *dei.* Introd. vi. D.

caelo: *in* omitted; Introd. vi. C 25.

scire . . . religiosum: the read. of P is *ut scrutare*, due perhaps to a careless copyist who construed the words with *datum*. Waltzing reads *aut scire sit datum aut ruspari religiosum* (Norden). For the act. form *scrutare* inst. of the deponent see Prisc. 799. There was a tendency in later writers to use such forms. Introd. vi. B 6. *Stuprari* has been unnecessarily questioned (other emends. are *suspicari*, *lustrare*, *interpretari*). In 12. 7 Caecilius says, *Proinde si quid sapientiae vobis aut* verecundiae *est desinite caeli plagas et mundi fata et secreta rimari.* Prying into such things was an outrage against modesty according to Caecilius.

oraculum: γνῶθι σεαυτόν, the maxim inscribed on the temple at Delphi.

§ 6. **quatenus** = *quoniam*; arch. and poet. (Lucr., Hor., Ov.); cf. Tac. *A*. 3. 16. 14.

indulgentes . . . labori: cf. *et sano iuvat indulgere labori* (Verg. *A*. 6. 135).

ultra . . . terminos: cf. *ultra* | *terminum curis vagor expeditis* (Hor. *Od*. 1. 22. 10).

proiecti, "cast forth," with idea of being exiled; cf. Cic. *Cat*. 2. 1. 2; Tac. *A*. 1. 3. 9; Ezek. 16. 5.

caelum transcendimus: cf. *caelum ipsum petimus stultitia* (Hor. *Od*. 1. 3. 38).

vel hunc, etc., "this error bad as it is"; for *vel* as intensive part. cf. *sed tamen vel regnum malo quam liberum populum* (Cic. *Rep*. 3. 34. 46).

§ 7. **sint**, "suppose the existence of."

semina . . . densata, "a conglomeration of atoms resulting from the self-fertilisation of nature." According to the atomic theory of Leucippus, Democritus, Epicurus and Lucretius there were two things in existence from all eternity, infinite space and atoms. Moving about in space these atoms clashed together by chance and combined to form the various objects in existence (*nulla cogente natura sed concursu quodam fortuito*, Cic. *N.D.* 1. 66), the lighter atoms ascending and forming the heavens, the heavier forming the earth (Lucr. 5. 417-510). Hence the external intervention of a creator is unnecessary. The idea of a self-fertilising nature producing a combination of atoms is foreign to the Epicurean system; cf. Lact. *Div. Inst.* 4. 8. 4; Aug. *Civ. Dei*, 7. 9. The nature which has produced the world according to Epicurus (*docuit nos natura effectum esse mundum*, Cic. *N.D.* 1. 53) is merely the blind, unconscious force or chance that presided over the combinations of atoms

(Lucr. 1. 1021 ff.) *Omnium semina*, cf. *elementa* 5. 8, called by Lucr. *semina rerum*, *corpora prima*, *corpora materiae*, *corpuscula primordia*; by Cic. *atomi*, *corpuscula individua* (*Fin.* 1. 6. 17). Cf. Verg. *E.* 6. 31-34; Cic. *Acad.* 1. 6. 17; Ov. *M.* 1. 1-88.

membra: i.e. fire, air, earth and water.

machinator, "engineer"; cf. Livy 24. 34; (*deus*) *qui haec machinatus est* (Cic. *Tim.* 9). In Cic. the mean. is "organiser" or "contriver" with signif. of underhand methods (*Cat.* 3. 3. 6).

ignis: the fiery atoms that formed the stars (Lucr. 5. 455-508), not the primal element of universal fire of Heracleitus.

sua materia: with *suspenderit* and *fundaverit*. *Sua*, "proper," i.e. light material in one case, and heavy in the other.

influxerit: sc. *in terram*; i.e. the sea was formed from the moisture and flowed into the hollows of the earth; cf.—

> *maxima qua nunc se ponti plaga caerula tendit,*
> *succidit et salso suffudit gurgite fossas.*

(Lucr. 5. 481-2); Plut. *Plac. Phil.* 1. 4.

religio . . . superstitio: Servius derives *religio* fr. *religare* "to bind" (Verg. *A.* 8. 349); cf. Lucr. *religionum nodos exsolvere* (1. 931; 4. 7); Cic. *De Dom.* 105. Cic. derives the word fr. *relegere* "to take into consideration" (*N.D.* 2. 28. 72) opp. to *neglegere*; cf. Hom. Διὸς οὐκ ἀλέγων (see Munro, Lucr. 1. 109). It is difficult to distinguish exactly between genuine religiousness and *superstitio* or erroneous excess of religion (Gk. δεισιδαιμονία). In the early period of heathendom the religious man was one who adhered to the legal traditions in his relation to the gods and the superstitious man, one who gave himself up to strange rites or to the worship of strange gods. Varro held the superstitious were those who feared the gods as enemies, the religious those who loved them as parents (Aug. *Civ. Dei*, 6. 9). Cf. Theophrast., superstition is δειλία πρὸς τὸ δαιμόνιον (*Char.* 16). Cic. gives the law against Superstition: *separatim nemo habessit deos, nec novos neve advenas nisi publice adscitos: privatim colunto quos rite a patribus cultos acceperunt* (*Legg.* 2. 19). Hence Christianity is a *prava superstitio* (Pliny, *Ep.* 10. 97); cf. *exitiabilis superstitio* (Tac. *A.* 15. 44). A religion becomes a superstition either by the introduction of new and strange rites (Cic. *N.D.* 3. 5) or from its arousing irrational fears (*id.*, *ibid.* 1. 117) or from its connexion with immorality (*id.*, *Clu.* 194) or from contradicting the teaching of science (*id.*, *Div.* 2. 148); cf. Sen. *Clem.* 2. 5; *Ep.* 123. 16. According to Cic., *religio est, quae superioris cuiusdam naturae (quam divinam vocant) curam caere-*

moniamque affert (*Inv.* 2. 53. 161), while *superstitio* is a *timor inanis deorum* (*N.D.* 1. 42. 117). According to Lact. the difference depends on the object of worship, *religio veri dei cultus est, superstitio falsi et omnino quid colas interest non quemadmodum colas aut quid precere* (*Div. Inst.* 4. 28). See Mayor, Cic. *N.D.* 2. 72.

§ 8. **animal,** "living thing."

inspiratur, etc.: *inspiratur*, "breathes," lit. "is breathed into"; poet. and post-class.; *attollitur*, "grows," lit. "is raised," not in Cic.

ut . . . ita, "just as . . . so."

voluntaria: i.e. without any external intervention.

in quae . . . dissipatur: cf. *discidio redeunt in corpora materiai* (Lucr. 1. 250); Cic. *N.D.* 1. 25.

iudice: cf. *hanc deus et melior litem natura diremit* (Ov. *M.* 1. 21).

§ 9. **sic**: 1. 4.

soles . . . splendere: accus. and infin. of exclam. *Videmus* before *soles* has been suggested. Schöne reads *soles vides.* Cf. Lucr.—

et semina multa

. . . . . .

quae faciunt solis nova semper lumina gigni.

(5. 660-2.)

nebulas . . . nubes . . . nimbis, "mists . . . clouds . . . storm-clouds." Cf. *id.* 6. 477-482—

surgere de terra nebulas aestumque videmus
quae . . . sursum expressa feruntur
. . . *et altas*
sufficiunt nubis paulatim conveniendo;
urget enim . . . aetheris aestus
et quasi densendo subtexit caerula nimbis.

fluere, flare: Introd. vi. D.

praemicare: post-class. for *micare.* Introd. vi. A 5.

adeo: 16. 5.

irruunt . . . incurrunt: Cic. construes with *in* and accus.; Livy construes *incurrere* as here (22. 17. 6). Introd. vi. C 17.

sine dilectu, etc.: cf. Lucr. 6. 416 ff.; Aristoph. *Nub.* 399.

noxios . . . religiosos: cf.—

quod saepe nocentes
praeterit exanimatque indignos inque merentes.

(Lucr. 2. 1103.)

§ 10. **quid tempestates loquar**: this use of *loquor* is rare in class. Lat.; cf. Livy 5. 5. 6.

examine, "discrimination"; in this sense poet. (Ov., Stat.).

rerum impetus: cf. *caeli impetus* Lucr. 5. 200; Cic. *N.D.* 2. 38.

nocentiumque: read. of P. Waltzing adopts *nocentumque* (Winterfield) for sake of metr. end. (– ⏑ – | – ⏑).

caeli tractus: cf. Verg. *A*. 3. 137.

§ 11. **nequitia** = *nequiores.* Introd. vi. C 7 and D.

et = *etiam. Colitur*, "procures a reverend pre-eminence" (Holden).

detestanda . . . optanda: cf. Hesiod, *Works*, 270; Aristoph. *Plut.* 29 ff.; Plato, *Rep.* 365 A.

§ 12. **Phalaris**: tyrant of Agrigentum (*circ.* 550 B.C.), proverbial for his cruelty. For story of brazen bull see Class. Dict.

Rutilius: P. Rutilius Rufus cons. 105 B.C.; noted for his integrity, but condemned to exile at the instance of the *publicani* whose rapacity he checked as legate in Asia 93 B.C.

Camillus: M. Furius the dictator, conqueror of Veii 396 B.C.; charged with unfairness in distribution of booty, went into exile 391 B.C.

These instances of injustice tolerated by the gods are taken from Cic. *N.D.* 3. 32, the argument being, *nam si curent bene bonis sit, male malis, quod nunc abest.* Cf. Sen. *Prov.* 3. 4. For similar reasoning cf. Lucan, *Phar.* 7. 446; Soph. *Phil.* 447; Ov. *Am.* 3. 8.

§ 13. **arbusta**: here poet. for *arbores* (Verg., Lucr.).

iam . . . cana: connect; cf. *segetis canae* (Ov. *M.* 10. 655).

adeo: introducing a general consideration as an explanation of a specific fact; freq. in Livy, e.g. 27. 9. 1. Tr. "So true is it that."

incerta: proleptic = *ita ut incerta sit.*

premitur here = *deprimitur*, Introd. vi. A 5; in this sense mostly poet.; cf. *depressa veritas* (Cic. *Clu.* 65. 183).

fortuna, etc.: for same idea cf. Plato, *Legg.* 709 B; Juv. *S.* 13. 86; Lact. *Div. Inst.* 3. 27. *Soluta legibus*: cf. *princeps legibus solutus* (*Dig.* 1. 3. 31).

CHAPTER VI

§ 1. **fortuna . . . natura**: the world is ruled either by mere chance and we can see its working (*certa*), or by a divine force designated *natura* (cf. *Cleanthes totius naturae menti atque animo hoc nomen* (*dei*) *tribuit*, Cic. *N.D.* 1. 14. 37), whose working we cannot see (*incerta*). This mean. of *certa* and *incerta* in ref. to a thing established by evidence or the contrary is class. Cf. Lucr., *usque adeo res humanas vis abdita quaedam opterit* (5. 1231).

venerabilius: active; in this signif. post-class.

antistitem veritatis: emend. of Wower for *antistes* of P.

Antistes, prim. "an overseer" or "president," freq. in ref. to overseer of temple or sacrifice (*ante*, *sto*); hence as here "a guide"; accus. in appos. to *disciplinam*. Post-class. signif. Cf. Tert. *Apol.* 19.

excipere: with the idea of taking up and continuing the tradition (Cic. *Sen.* 6. 19).

imbutus es = *didicisti*. Introd. vi. C 31. Cf. Tac. *H.* 5. 5.

adorare = *venerari*; in prose since Livy (5. 21, etc.).

numinibus here = *deis*; *numen* means the "will," "power" or "dispensation" of the divinity (*numen quasi nutus dei ac potestas dicitur*, Paul e Fest. p. 173 Müll.), as different from the divinity (*deus*); cf. *quanto id facilius deo, cuius numini parent omnia* (Cic. *Div.* 1. 53. 120); used as here by Livy (1. 21. 1); Tac. (*A.* 1. 10; 1. 73 etc.) and the poets.

rudi, "young"; cf. *rudem adhuc aetatem* (Tac. *A.* 4. 8); *Cato rudi saeculo litteras Graecas didicit* (Quint. 12. 11. 23).

meruerunt: with infin.; in class. prose always takes *ut.* Introd. vi. C. 31.

faciles = *propitios*; cf. *deos faciles* (Sen. *Ep.* 101. 2); *di faciles* (Juv. 10. 7). For the arg. that the ancients had easier access to the truth cf. Cic. *Legg.* 2. 27; *Tusc.* 1. 26; *Tim.* 38; Ov. *F.* 4. 203.

reges: e.g. Jupiter in Crete, Saturn in Italy, Apollo at Ephesus.

inde adeo, "hence in fact"; *adeo* is thus freq. as an intensifying enclitic (Gk. γε).

singulos, "individual peoples."

gentiles, "national," peculiar to the *gens*. Cf. Tac., *gentili religione* (*A.* 12. 34. 4).

deos municipes: Introd. vi. C 3. Cf. Tert. *Apol.* 24.

Matrem: Cybele.

Mercurium, the chief god of the Gauls, was identified with the Roman Mercury (Caes. *B.G.* 6. 17; Lucan 1. 444-445).

numina: wanting in P; inserted by Halm. Schöne reads *universum agmen.*

§ 2. **orbis**: without *terrae* mostly poet. (Ov. *F.* 5. 93; Juv. *S.* 10. 168). Introd. vi. A 3.

solis vias, etc.: cf.—

> *proferet imperium; iacet extra sidera tellus,*
> *extra anni solisque vias*

(Verg. *A.* 6. 795-6). According to Vergil's description there is a belt of earth corresponding to the belt in the heavens (Zodiac) on each side of the imaginary line that marks the sun's annual path

through the stars (Ecliptic). The lands north and south of this belt are *ultra vias solis*, e.g. Africa. Cf. Ov. *F.* 2. 136.

Oceani limites: Britain; cf. *it tamen ultra Oceanum solemque* (Sen. *Ep.* 94. 63).

dum, "while" = "in consequence of"; cf. Cic. *Caec.* 17; Sall. *Iug. Bell.* 4.

urbem muniunt: cf. *urbem religione . . . cingitis* (Cic. *N.D.* 3. 40).

sacrorum religionibus: Introd. vi. C 19.

honoribus . . . sacerdotum, "priests of various dignities and titles."

citra, "up to," but not including (Cic. *Or.* 18. 58). Note alliteration.

iratos: as proved by the Roman disaster. Cf. Sen. speaking of the pontifex Pulvillus: *dignus amplissimo sacerdotio, qui colere deos ne iratos quidem destitit* (*Cons. ad Marc.* 13. 2).

per Gallorum acies: during the siege of the Capitol 390 B.C.) Manlius sent the pontiff Fabius to offer sacrifice at the Quirinal. Dressed in his sacrificial robes he passed unharmed through the hostile ranks (Val. Max. 1. 1).

ferociente: arch. and post-Aug. (Cat., Gell.).

interdum: Halm for *dum* of P.

ignotis . . . manibus: *numina ignota* were those deities whose name and nature were not known. In such cases the inscription on their monuments ran *sive deus sive dea* or *sive mas sive femina* (Wissova, *Rel. der Roemer*, p. 33). Cf. inscr. on altar found at Rome: *sive deo sive deae, C. Terentius Dexter ex voto posuit* (*C.I.L.* vi. 111 Dessau 4018, quoted by Waltzing). Servius distinguishing between *altaria* and *arae* (Verg. *E.* 5. 25) says that while the former were reserved for the superior divinities the latter were also consecrated to inferior gods, heroes and demigods. Cf. *stant manibus arae* (Verg. *A.* 3. 63); *id.*, *ibid.* 3. 305; Tac. *A.* 3. 2. Schöne reads *ex manubiis* for *et manibus.*

§ 3. **antiquitas,** "men of old"; *vetustas*, "age," "long duration." Cf. *errabat enim in multis antiquitas, quam vel usu iam vel doctrina vel vetustate immutatam videmus* (Cic. *Div.* 2. 33).

astruxerit = *addiderit*; mostly post-Aug.: for this use of subj. with *quantum*, analogous to that of cases freq. recurring (Introd. vi. C 37) cf. Tac. *A.* 6. 19. 5; 6. 21. 4; 13. 42. 1. It is a very rare usage. For similar arguments for the greatness of heathen religion cf. Cic. *Harusp.* 19. 79; Dionys. Hal. 2. 18-19. 63-73; Val. Max. 1. 1. 8; Sall. *Cat.* 12; Cels. ap. Orig. 8. 69; Aug. *Civ. Dei*, 4. 8-9, 28-29.

CHAPTER VII

§ 1. **nec temere, etc.**: i.e. sceptical though I am (*et ipse*) of the gods' existence I would admit that our ancestors had some justification (*nec temere*) for their religious observance ; and if I am wrong in making such a concession my mistake is not as bad as that of the Christians (*melius errare*), for events have justified that older belief. *Ausim* = *ausus sim* ; arch. (Ter.). *Interim*, "for the moment" ; in this sense post-Aug. (Quint. 1. 10. 27).

§ 2. **de libris memoriam** = *librorum memoriam*. Introd. vi. C 48. Cf. Cic. *Or.* 1. 59 ; *liber quo iste omnium rerum memoriam breviter complexus est* (*id.*, *ibid.* 3. 14). P has *memoria*.

iam . . . deprehendes: for imperat. thus followed by fut. cf. Cic., *recognosce . . . iam intelleges* (*Cat.* 1. 4. 8) ; *Sull.* 2. 5.

initiasse: here "introduced"; in class. Lat. "to initiate" or "admit" one to secret religious rites (Cic. *Legg.* 2. 15. 37 ; Livy 31. 14. 7).

§ 3. **testis mater Idaea**: Cybele. The principal centre of her worship was Mt. Pessinus in Phrygia. Her rites were introduced to Rome 205 B.C. as being the sole means of victory according to Sibylline books. The story of the statue's testifying to the innocence of the matron Quinta Claudia is told by Livy (29. 14). For a diff. version see Ov. *F.* 4. 260 ff. Cf. Tert. *Apol.* 22. 12 ; Lact. *Div. Inst.* 2. 7. 12 ; Aug. *Civ. Dei*, 10. 16. For repetition of *testis* see Introd. vi. D.

fratrum . . . lacu: the *Lacus Iuturnae*, a pond in the forum between temples of Castor and Vesta, where the Dioscuri appeared after the battle of Regillus. The story of the arrival in Rome of two horsemen believed to be the Dioscuri, on the eve of the battle of Pydna (168 B.C.), announcing the Roman victory over Perseus, is told by Florus (1. 28. 12). Cf. Cic. *N.D.* 2. 5 ; 3. 11 ; *Tusc.* 1. 12 ; Tert. *Apol.* 22. 12.

anheli: Gelenius for *anhelis* of P. Cf. *quod adhuc anhelarent* (Flor. *l.c.*).

de: this use after *victoria* is freq. in Livy.

ludorum iteratio: the *ludi circenses* are referred to, annually celebrated in honour of Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva. In 491 B.C., Jupiter communicated his displeasure at an irregularity in the opening of the games to a plebeian T. Latinius, warning him in a dream to announce to the cos. that the games were to be repeated (Livy 2. 36 ; cf. Cic. *Div.* 1. 55). *Instauratio*, tech. term for repeating a relig. ceremony orig. irregular (Livy 5. 52). *De somnio*: *de* "by means of" ; Introd. vi. C 48.

Deciorum, etc. : see Livy 8. 9 ; 10. 28 ; Val. Max. 5. 6 ; cf. Cic. *N.D.* 3. 36. *Rata*, "approved" by the gods ; "efficacious."

Curtius : see Livy 7. 6 ; 1. 13 ; Val. Max. *l.c.* ; cf. Cic. *N.D.* 2. 10 ; *Div.* 1. 51.

equitis : used poet. to include horse and rider. Cf. *quadrupes eques* (Enn. ap. Non. 106. 31) ; Verg. *G.* 3. 116 ; Gell. 18. 5 (quot. fr. Enn.).

honore : ref. to the offerings of flowers and fruits cast upon Curtius by the citizens (Livy 7. 6).

hiatum . . . voraginis : Introd. vi. C 19.

§ 4. **sic** : 5. 9.

Allia : cf. *quosque secans infaustum interluit Allia nomen* (Verg. *A.* 7. 717) ; Livy 5. 37 ; 6. 1 ; Tac. *H.* 2. 21. Before the battle Q. Sulpicius sacrificed the day after the Ides, an unlucky day.

Claudi . . . naufragium : for gens. see Introd. vi. B 1. P. Claudius Pulcher and L. Junius Pullus, cos. 249 B.C., lost two Roman fleets, Claudius having been defeated at Drepanum, while Junius was shipwrecked. Cf. Cic. *Div.* 1. 16 ; 2. 8. 20 ; *N.D.* 2. 3. 7.

Flaminius : see Livy 22. 3 ; cf. Cic. *Div.* 2. 71 ; *N.D.* 2. 8.

signa repetamus : the pres. subj. after the histor. tense is thought to give a clue to the date of composition of the *Octavius*. In 161 A.D. Vologeses III. of Parthia massacred an entire Roman army at Elegeia in Armenia. This disaster was avenged in the following year by the Emperor Verus. If Minucius wrote previously to, or during, the latter campaign, the tense of *repetamus* is regular. Verus, however, could not be said to demand back the standards lost at Carrhae. Augustus had recovered these by diplomacy in 20 B.C. (*Mon. Ancyr.* 29). But if the Romans recovered the standards, they had never wiped out the disgrace inflicted on the prestige of Rome by the defeat at Carrhae. Thus, perhaps, the present tense can be explained : "Crassus despised the auguries and as a result we have still the Parthian question." (See D'Alton, *Horace and his Age*, pp. 13-22.) Cf. Hor. *Od.* 3. 6. 9 ; Vell. 2. 46. Waltzing thinks the pres. is retained for the sake of the metrical ending – ⏑ ⏑ | ⏑ – ⏑. Schöne reads *repeteremus* (Halm). *Repetere* with double accus. on analogy of *reposcere* is irreg. ; cf. *Parthosque reposcere signa* (Verg. *A.* 7. 606). Introd. vi. C 17.

dirarum imprecationes : the portents are represented as invoking evil on the expedition ; cf. Cic., *dirarum obnuntiatione neglecta* (*Div.* 1. 29). For the evil omens see Plut. *Marc. Crass.* 15 ; Flor. 3. 11 ; Vell. Paterc. 2. 46. 2.

§ 5. **de . . . natalibus** : join with *carmina.*

de = *ab* ; Introd. vi. C 48.

antiquitas here = "antiquity," "ancient times"; cf. Cic., *fabulis ab ultima antiquitate repetitis* (*Fin.* 1. 20. 65).

fabulosa : poet. and post-class.

intende : sc. *animum*, never omitted in class. Latin. Introd. vi. A 3.

magis augusta . . . opulenta : 5. 2. Cf. Verg., *templum . . . donis opulentum et numine divae* (*A.* 1. 446).

praesentibus : the deities were believed to be personally present in their temples ; cf. Cic. *N.D.* 2. 27 ; Juv., *templorumque quoque maiestas praesentior* (13. 111) ; St. Paul, *Acts*, 17. 25.

incolis . . . inquilinis : in tech. lang. *incola* is a member of a community by right of having changed his domicile thither, as opposed to *civis* (*Dig.* 50. 16. 239). *Inquilinus* (*in*, root *col*) is "a tenant" or "lodger," one who left his own State as exile and came to live in another (Cic. *Phil.* 2. 41. 105). The words are used here as synonyms. Introd. vi. D.

§ 6. **inde adeo** : 6. 1.

praecerpunt : lit. "pluck or gather beforehand," hence "prophesy" ; there is no parallel for this meaning. Introd. vi. A 3. Cf. use of *carpere*, Tert. *Apol.* 22. 30.

cautelam : here "security" ; a jurid. term (*Dig.* 3. 3. 15 ; 13. 7. 6) ; post-class. (Plaut. *Mil.* 3. 1. 6 dub.)

peieramus : with accus. ; cf. *Stygias qui peierat undas* (Lucan 6. 749) ; Ov. *Am.* 3. 10. 22. The emend. *eieramus* (Gronovius) is unnecessary. The gradation is : we deny the gods' existence, but feel they do exist, and wish they did not (*nolumus*), and we swear falsely by them. *Nolumus* : sc. *esse.* Introd. vi. C 28.

CHAPTER VIII

§ 1. **de dis . . . consensio** : join. Cf. Cic., *cum . . . maneat ad unum omnium firma consensio* (*N.D.* 1. 44).

tumescentem : poet. ; see Cic. *Div.* 1. 7. 13.

tam : inserted by Gelenius.

§ 2. **sic licet ille . . .**, "let him (i.e. the assailant of this religion) be the famous," etc.

Theodorus, a philosopher of the Cyrenaic school, designated "atheist" by ancient writers, was banished from Cyrene and came to Athens, whence he was also banished (307 B.C.). Cf. Cic. *Tusc.* 1. 43 ; Diog. Laert. 2. 86.

Diagoras, surnamed the Atheist, was a disciple of Democritus of Abdera and had some fame as a lyric poet. He fled from Athens (411 B.C.) to avoid trial on a charge of impiety. Cf. Tat. *Ad Graec.* 27 ; Plut. *Plac. Phil.* 1. 7.

antiquitas : 6. 5.

qui uterque = *quorum uterque* in class. Lat.

humanitas here = *genus humanum* ; cf. Cic. *Off.* 3. 6. 32 ; *ἀνθρωπότης* Sext. Emp. *M.* 7. 273.

§ 3. **Protagoram :** (*circ.* 480-411 B.C.), b. at Abdera, the first professional sophist. He was impeached at Athens (411 B.C.) on a charge of impiety based on the opening statement of his work *Περὶ Θεῶν* (*περὶ μὲν τῶν θεῶν οὐκ ἔχω εἰδέναι οὔθ' ὡς εἶσιν, οὔθ' ὡς οὐκ εἶσιν*) and banished, or, according to another account, punished by having his book burned (Cic. *N.D.* 1. 12. 29) ; cf. Theoph. *Ad Autol.* 3. 7 ; Diog. Laert. 9. 50. These examples are taken from Cic. *N.D.* 1. 63 ; 1. 29 and 117. Cf. Lact. *Ira Dei*, 9.

consulte . . . profane, "sceptically rather than profanely" (Holden), i.e. his language was that of doubt rather than downright denial ; cf. *deos esse dixit dubitare se Protagoras* (Cic. *N.D.* 1. 1. 2). *Consulte* in class. Lat. means "skilfully," "after a manner well weighed" (Livy 22. 38) ; here the adverb corresponds to the verb in the sense "to deliberate upon" ; cf. *consulere et explorare rem* (Cic. *Att.* 2. 16. 4).

impetum . . . exserentem, "as I give free scope to the onset." *Actionis susceptae* : leg. term (Cic. *Sest.* 41).

deploratae . . . desperatae : *deplorare* in class. Lat. means (1) "to weep bitterly," (2) "to weep for bitterly" ; in Livy and post-Aug. Lat. "to weep for as lost." Hence the p. part. of "something beyond cure," "incorrigible" as here. Cf. Pliny, *N.H.* 7. 50. *Desperatus* : cf. *desperatos vocant* (*Christianos*) *quia corpori suo minime parcunt* (Lact. *Div. Inst.* 5. 9) ; *desperati et perditi existimamur* (Tert. *Apol.* 50. 4).

illicitae : i.e. an organisation not recognised by the State ; cf. Celsus ap. Orig. 1. 1.

grassari in deos : the Christians were called atheists. Cf. Justin 1. 9 ; Tert. *Apol.* 10 ; Arnob. *Ad Gent.* 1. 28 ; Clem. Alex. *Strom.* 7. 1.

§ 4. **de ultima . . . collectis :** sc. *hominibus* ; abl. of means or instr., as if unworthy to be classed as persons ; cf. Cic., *servos . . . quibus silvas depopulatus est* (*Mil.* 9. 26). Cf. Tat. *Ad Graec.* 33 ; Justin M. *Apol.* 2. 11 ; Lact. *Div. Inst.* 6. 4.

imperitioribus . . . credulis : note combin. of pos. and compar. ; 1. 1.

facilitate = *proclivitate*, "weakness" ; cf. *haec in bonis rebus quod alii ad alia bona sunt aptiores facilitas nominetur, in malis proclivitas* (Cic. *Tusc.* 4. 12. 28).

profanae here = *impiae* ; cf. 8. 3.

nocturnis, etc. : cf. *affirmabant* (*Christiani*) *summam culpae suae quod essent soliti stato die ante lucem convenire* (Pliny, *Ep. ad Trai.* 97) ; Tert. *Ad Ux.* 1. 4.

ieiuniis sol. : cf. Tert. *Ieiun.* 12 ; *Ad Ux.* 2. 4.

inhumanis cibis : see 9. 5 ; cf. Athenag. *Suppl.* 3 ; Theoph. *Ad Autol.* 3. 4.

piaculo : lit. "atonement for crime," "propitiatory sacrifice" (fr. *pio*), by transf. "the crime" itself that needed expiation. Cf. Livy 5. 22.

foederantur : the part. *foederatus* only is found in class. Lat.

natio : a contemptuous express. ; cf. Cic. ref. to Epicureans, *N.D.* 2. 29. 74. *Lucifuga* is applied by Verg. to insects of moth and cockroach kind (*blattae*), *G.* 4. 243.

in publicum : for *in publico* ; an extension of the class. *in publicum prodire* ; cf. 19. 14. Such confusion of cases is characteristic of later Lat.

templa ut busta : cf. *haec mihi in animis vestris templa, hae pulcherrimae effigies et mansurae. Nam quae saxo struuntur . . . pro sepulchris spernuntur* (Tac. *A.* 4. 38) ; Tert. *Spectac.* 13.

purpuras : the *toga praetexta* bordered with purple was worn by higher magistrates ; hence *purpura* in transf. sense of the "magistracy" itself. Cf. *septima purpura*, "seventh consulate" (Flor. 3. 21. 17).

§ 5. **ita illis, etc.**, "an illusory hope, namely, the consoling prospects of a future life, soothes their terror" ; taking *solacia rediviva* in apposition to *fallax spes* (Holden). Waltzing takes *fallax* as gov. accus. *pavorem*, an unparalleled constr. Tac. construes *fallax* with gen. (*A.* 6. 32). *Blanditur* = *blandiendo compellit* ; cf. Livy 10. 2. 2. For *blandior* in sense of "urging to by blandishment" cf. Lucr. 2. 173. *Redivivus*, "returned to life," in Cic. of old building materials used for new construction (*Verr.* 2. 1. 56). Lindner reads *solacio redivivo* ; Davies takes *pavore* as abl. of cause. Cf.—

per magnas didita gentes
dulcia permulcent animos solacia vitae.
(Lucr. 5. 20.)

The Christians, according to Caecilius, are an exception. Their solace is that of a fut. life.

CHAPTER IX

§ 1. **serpentibus in dies** : cf. Pliny, *Ep. ad Trai.* 97 ; Tac. *A.* 15. 44. 4.

sacraria : *sacrarium est locus in quo sacra reponuntur : quod etiam in aedificio privato esse potest* (*Dig.* 1. 8. 9). Cf. St. Paul, *Ad Rom.* 16. 23 ; *Ad Cor.* 1. 16. 19-20.

adolescunt, "multiply."

§ 2. **notis . . . insignibus** : one of the "special marks" is referred to 31. 8.

mutuo = *inter se* ; post-class.

fratres . . . sorores : the terms were used of lovers in pagan writers (Cic. *Cael.* 13. 32 ; Mart. 2. 4. 3 ; Petr. 9. 2). Cf. Tert. *Apol.* 29 ; Athenag. *Suppl.* 28.

non insolens, "ordinary."

vana . . . superstitio : cf. Tac., *exitiabilis superstitio* (*A.* 15. 44. 4) ; it was the *timor inanis* (Cic. *N.D.* 1. 42. 117), which made men neglect the old gods : *vana superstitio veterumque ignara deorum* (Verg. *A.* 8. 185).

§ 3. **ipsis,** "them above all others" ; 1. 4.

maxime nefaria : emend. of Daniel for *maxima et varia* of P.

honore praefanda, "to be mentioned with apology" ; cf. Cic., *si dicimus : ille patrem strangulavit, honorem non praefamur. Sin de Aurelia aliquid aut Lollia honos praefandus est* (*Fam.* 9. 22. 4).

pecudis : the noun in appos. generally follows the other except in case of a proper name. See Cic. *Sest.* 3. 7. For reply to this charge see Tert. *Apol.* 16.

persuasione, "belief" ; in this sense post-Aug.

§ 4. **naturam** = *pudenda* ; cf. Cic. *N.D.* 3. 22. 55 ; *Div.* 2. 70. 145 ; Apul. *M.* 3. 24. For charge see Tert. *Penit.* 9.

ligna : plur. nouns of material denote objects made of the material ; here "wooden crosses" ; cf. *aera* (Cic. *Ep.* 12. 1. 2) ; *cerae* (*id.*, *N.D.* 1. 26. 71).

caerimonias : sc. *esse* ; "objects of cult."

ut id colant : i.e. the gibbet. See Introd. iii.

§ 5. **tirunculis** : post-Aug. ; cf. Tert. *Apol.* 7 ; Just. M. *Apol.* 2. 12.

sacris imbuatur : *imbuere* means orig. "to drink," or "cause to drink," "to dye," fr. lost verb *buere* (cf. *bibere*, *haurire*, *potare*) ;

hence "to give a first tincture of knowledge," "to initiate." (See Reid, Cic. *Mil.* 4. 10. 32.) The subj. is that of an action frequently occurring. Cf. 6. 3. See Furneaux, Tac. *A.* Introd. iv. See Introd. vi. C 37.

caecis : pass., "invisible"; cf. Lucr. 4. 1116; "the sightless couriers of the air" (Shakespeare, *Macbeth*, Act 1, Sc. 7).

foederantur : 8. 4.

pignerantur, "pledged," denotes the interchange of *pignora.* The Catiline conspirators are said by Sall. (*Cat.* 22) to have sealed their pact by drinking human blood.

§ 6. **convivio** : the ἀγάπαι or love-feasts; Tert. *Apol.* 39.

Cirtensis nostri : M. Cornelius Fronto; Introd. ii., iii.

ebriatis : emend. of Meursius for *ebrietatis* of P; prob. a neolog.; cf. Macrob. *Saturn.* 7. 6. 16.

§ 7. **conscio,** "(would be) privy."

impudentibus tenebris : cf. Ov., *illa* (*nox*) *pudore vacat* (*Amor.* 6. 59).

per incertum sortis, "by blind chance." Cf. Tert. *Apol.* 7. For gen. see Introd. vi. C 18.

opera : Halm for *opora* of P.

actu, "actual performance" as opposed to *voto*; post-Aug. in this sense; cf. 32. 7; 36. 1.

CHAPTER X

§ 1. **et** = *etiam.*

pleraque omnium : cf. *tot omnes* (5. 4); and the frequent express. *unus omnium.*

§ 2. **quidquid illud,** "that vaunted thing, whatever it is." Ellipsis.

scelera secreta : cf. St. John, *Evang.* 3. 20.

nullas aras . . . templa : cf. *non altaria fabricamus, non aras* (Arnob. *Adv. Nat.* 6. 1); Celsus ap. Orig. 8. 17; Tert. *Idol.* 7.

loqui . . . congregari : histor. infins.; *oratio variata*, Introd. vi. D. Cf. Lact. *Div. Inst.* 7. 26.

et interprimunt : *et*, "and nevertheless"; cf. Cic., *habes somnum imaginem mortis eamque cotidie induis, et dubitas quin sensus in morte nullus sit* (*Tusc.* 1. 38. 92); *Sen.* 9. 28. *Interprimunt* is arch. and post-class.

§ 3. **vel . . . aut** : these parts. do not correspond as *vel . . . vel*; *vel* belongs to the first clause *unde* etc.; cf. Cic., *haec Epicureo confitenda sunt aut ea quae dixi tollenda de libro vel totus liber potius abiciendus* (*Tusc.* 3. 19. 44).

non . . . saltem = *ne quidem* ; cf. Livy, *non deorum saltem si non hominum memoras* (5. 38).

superstitio : not in depreciatory sense here ; the word is specially used as denoting the accessions to the ancient religion (see II. 5. 7) : Roman religion, which has adopted all others, does not recognise Christianity.

§ 4. **gentilitas** : cf. Pliny, *Pan.* 39. 3 ; in Cic. it signifies the relationship of those within the same *gens*.

hominibus : reading of *r* ; *nominibus* P. *Hominibus* is more pointed than the suggested *numinibus*. Jerusalem was destroyed by Titus in 70 A.D., when according to Josephus over a million Jews were slain and over ninety thousand were taken prisoners and sold as slaves. Hadrian suppressed a revolt of the Jews in 131-135 A.D. and founded the colony *Aelia Capitolina* on the ruins of Jerusalem.

sibi : pleonasm ; ante- and post-class. ; cf. *cocleae . . . suo sibi suco vivont* (Plaut. *Capt.* 1. 1. 13).

§ 5. **at etiam**, "but furthermore."

quanta monstra : emend. by Davies of *quantam nostram* of P.

actus = *actiones* ; post-Aug. Cf. Cic. *N.D.* 1. 54, where the Epicurean Velleius criticises similarly the god of the Stoics : *itaque imposuistis cervicibus nostris sempiternum dominum, quem dies et noctes timeremus ; quis enim non timeat omnia providentem et cogitantem et animadvertentem et omnia ad se pertinere putantem, curiosum et plenum negotii deum ?*

curiosum : "prying" ; in this sense post-Aug.

intererrat : neolog. Introd. vi. A 2.

singulis : neuter gen. Introd. vi. C 5.

districtus : read. of *r* ; *destrictus* P. Tr. "busily engaged." Cf.—

si curant igitur cunctos punire nocentes
quando ad me venient ?

(Juv. *S.* 13. 101).

CHAPTER XI

§ 1. **quid ? quod** : a form of transition very freq. in Cic.

toto : dative ; cf. *toto exercitui* (Caes. *B.G.* 7. 89) ; *toto orbi* (Prop. 3. 11. 57).

mundo, "the heavens," Gk. *κόσμος* ; cf. *mundo quidem minantur interitum* (Sen. *Ad Polyb.* 1. 2) ; Cic. *Tim.* 10 : *Acad.* 4. 28 ; Tat. *Ad Graec.* 25. 6.

compage : read. of P is compage*tur*.

continetur . . . cingitur: sc. *totus orbis et ipse mundus.* Cf. *urbe portus ipse cingitur et continetur* (Cic. *Verr.* 5. 96); *id.*, *N.D* 2. 58. *Moles* (τὸ ἄπειρον of the Milesian school) is the endless mass stretching out without limit on every side of the heavens, encompassing (περιέχον) the world we live in (see Burnet, *Early Greek Philos.* p. 60). Cf. *multosque per annos sustentata ruet moles et machina mundi* (Lucr. 5. 95); *et mundi moles operosa laboret* (Ov. *M.* 1. 256).

§ 2. **aniles fabulas**: freq. express. in Cic. (*Div.* 1. 7; *N.D.* 2. 70, etc.).

renasci: pres. tense for fut., to denote absolute assurance (*putes eos iam revixisse*). Cf. Cic. *Mil.* 36. 99 pres. indic. for fut.

§ 3. **sibi** = *nobis.* Cf. *quisque suos patimur manes* (Verg. *A.* 6. 743); Cic. *N.D.* 1. 84 (*sibi displicere*).

et interimus = *etiam interimus.* Introd. vi. C 39.

repromittere: Introd. vi. A 5.

§ 4. **nec intersit**: negatived by *non.* Cf. *si nihil sentio non pertinet ad me iactura corporis insepulti; si sentio omnis sepultura tormentum est* (Sen. *Remed. Fort.* 5. 1); *id.*, *Ep.* 92. 34.

medicina: i.e. the corpse being an unsightly dead thing is healed, as it were, through being quickly reduced to its elements by fire.

§ 5. **perpetem** = *perpetuam*; arch. and post-class. Introd. vi. A.

ni festinet: protasis (e.g. *quae referam*) suppressed.

magis = *potius*; cf. 7. 5; 36. 4 and 7.

nec laboro = *ne l. quidem*; cf. 28. 5; *nec* thus freq. in Livy. Tr. "I do not take the trouble (to show)." "I need not labour the point" (Brodribb).

quamquam: "and yet."

novi: not in P; inserted by Vahlen after *plurimorum.* Waltzing after Norden inserts it before *fato.* Owing to similarity of ending (*ui*) it seems more likely to have been omitted after *tribui.*

§ 6. **dicitis,** "assign," foll. by dats.; cf. Cic., *doti pecuniam omnem suam dixerat* (*Flacc.* 35. 1). Waltzing interprets *fato* and *deo* as abl. or dat. of agent (sc. *fieri, agi*); cf. Cic., *praesertim cum vos fato fieri dicatis omnia* (*N.D.* 3. 14).

spontaneos: post-class.; for adv. use of adj. see Introd. vi. C 6.

cupere: cf. *Caesari cupies* (Cic. *Fam.* 2. 15); Caes. *B.G.* 1. 18; Ter. *Andr.* 905.

sortem . . . puniat: the *poena sempiterna* with which non-Christians are threatened (*supra* § 5).

§ 7. **utrumne . . . an**: poet. (Hor. *Ep.* 1. 7) and post-Aug.

an absque corporibus: insertion by Winterfield, giving the

favourite metrical clause (cretic and trochee). Homoioteleuton would account for the omission by a copyist. Cf. St. Paul : ἀλλ' ἐρεῖ τις· πῶς ἐγείρονται οἱ νεκροὶ καὶ ποίῳ σώματι ἔρχονται; (*Cor.* 1. 15. 35).

hoc neque mens, etc. : Caecilius cannot conceive the existence of anything which is not corporeal ; cf. Velleius ap. Cic., *quod vero sine corpore ullo deum vult esse, ut Graeci dicunt* ἀσώματον, *id quale esse possit, intelligi non potest* (*N.D.* 1. 12. 30).

§ 8. **et tamen,** "and besides" ; cf. 25. 10 ; 36. 4 ; 37. 2. For this argt. against Resurrection cf. Just. M. *Apol.* 1. 19 ; Theoph. *Ad Autol.* 1. 13 ; Lact. *Div. Inst.* 7. 22.

Protesilai sorte : Protesilaus, king of Phylace in Thrace, the first of the Greeks to land on the soil of Troy, was killed by Hector. Laodamia, his wife, obtained his return to earth for three hours as a favour from the gods.

horarum . . . commeatu, ("even a few) hours' respite" ; cf. *mori iussis non amplius quam horarum spatium dabat* (Suet. *Nero*, 37) ; *cotidie secretum sibi horarum sumere solebat* (*id.*, *Domit.* 3) ; the Eng. express. "a question of hours."

vel ut exemplo, "were it only to give us the guarantee of an instance to help our belief." For the posit. of *ut* after *vel* cf. *etiam si* (36. 2) ; *vel ne* (Tert. *Apol.* 23. 19).

§ 9. **figmenta** : post-class.

male sanae opinionis, "a morbid imagination."

in dulcedine . . . lusa, "sportive effusions with the charm of song." *In* with abl. indicating a loose connexion between the *in* clause and the rest of the sent. is a common use ; cf. *vidit igitur etiam in confessione facti iuris tamen defensionem suscipi posse* (Cic. *Mil.* 6. 15) ; Livy 1. 17. 3. Waltzing reads *dulcedinem* (Wopkens).

nimirum credulis : *nimirum* is ironical. *Credulus* is a sneer at the Christian title οἱ πιστεύοντες, *fideles* (Lact. *Div. Inst.* 7. 26).

reformata . . . in, "rehashed to apply to" ; 1. 5.

CHAPTER XII

§ 1. **nec saltem** : 10. 3.

irritae . . . vota, "false hopes and empty promises" (Brod.) ; gen. of def. *Cassa* = *inania*, mostly poet.

§ 2. **egetis . . . fame** : note asyndeton and assonance. Introd. vi. D.

et, "and yet," adversative, 10. 3.

deus patitur : the apparent indifference of the Christians' God to the sufferings of his subjects was a source of scandal to the

pagans; cf. Lact. *Instit.* 21. 2; Tertull. *Apol.* 41; Euseb. *Hist. Eccles.* 9. 7 and 8; Aug. *Civ. Dei*, 5. 22.

§ 3. **postumam**: arch. and post-class.

periculo, "sickness" (post-Aug.); cf. *in acutis vero periculis nullis dandum est vinum* (Pliny, *N.H.* 23. 1. 24).

nec = *et tamen non*; cf. Livy 23. 15. 4.

§ 4. **cruces** in Plaut. and Ter. freq. means "torture, trouble."

et timetis: 10. 3.

§ 5. **dominantur**: with gen., a Graecism. Introd. vi. C 20.

spectacula, "theatres"; frequent attendance at theatres was considered unworthy of a Christian. Cf. Tert. *Spectac.* 5; *Ad Marc.* 1. 27; *Pudicit.* 7; Theoph. *Ad Autol.* 3. 15.

pompis: solemn processions in which images of the gods were carried, e.g. funerals, triumphs, and the inauguration of the *ludi circenses.* Cf. Tert. *Spectac.* 23; *Coron.* 3.

convivia publica: such banquets were held on the anniversary of the emperor's accession or after the election of magistrates; cf. Tac. *A.* 15. 37; Pliny, *Ep. ad Trai.* 35 and 102; Tert. *Apol.* 35.

absque: arch. for *sine.* In Plaut. and Ter. it is confined to such condit. clauses as *absque te esset* (Plaut. *Trin.* 5. 2. 3); *absque hac una foret* (Ter. *Hec.* 4. 2. 25). Cic. has *absque argumento ac sententia* (*Att.* 1. 19. 1).

sacra certamina: gladiatorial combats, *venationes*, and *ludi circenses*; cf. Quint. *Inst. Or.* 2. 8. 7; 4. 1. 2.

praecerptos . . . delibatos: when the victim was slain the entrails were taken away (*praecerpere*) and burned on the altar. Part of the milk or wine was also poured out on the flame (*delibare*). The priests and attendants consumed the remainder. Cf. Tert. *Spectac.* 13. For accus. after *abhorreo*, Introd. vi. C 15.

altaribus: *in* omitted; cf. 5. 5; 18. 4; 24. 7; 27. 7, etc. Introd. vi. C 25.

§ 6. **floribus . . . coronas**: flowers woven into chaplets of various kinds (*coronae*) were used in festive and funereal decorations. Those who assisted at sacrifice wore a crown of bay (Pliny, *N.H.* 21; Mart. *Epig.* 13. 127; Hor. *Od.* 2. 7. 24). For the use of wreaths on graves cf. Prop. *El.* 3. 16. The early Christians were forbidden the use of flowers on their heads (Tert. *Apol.* 42; Clem. Alex. *Paedag.* 2. 8). Wreaths on graves were also forbidden (Just. M. *Apol.* 2), but this discipline was apparently soon relaxed (Prudent. *Cathem.* 10). The use of incense except at funerals was also forbidden (Tert. *Apol.* 42).

§ 7. **caeli . . . rimari**: cf. *oculis caeli rimari plagas* (Var. *Sat. Men.*

233); *quod est ante pedes nemo spectat, caeli scrutantur plagas* (Enn. ap. Cic. *Div.* 2. 13. 30); Sen. *Mort. Claud.* 8. 3.

pro pedibus = *quod est ante pedes.* In such expressions as this the loss of the def. art. in Lat. corresponding to the Greek usage is felt (τὰ πρὸ τῶν ποδῶν); cf. 24. 5; 37. 7.

intellegere civilia: the Christians were charged with neglecting civil affairs. Cf. *infructuosi in negotiis dicimur* (Tert. *Apol.* 42). Introd. iii.

disserere divina: Introd. vi. C 5. Cf. Cic. *N.D.* 3. 40.

CHAPTER XIII

§ 1. **quamquam,** "and yet."

sapientiae principem: cf. Cic. *N.D.* 2. 66. 167; *Fin.* 2. 1. 1.

quisque = *quicunque*; cf. Livy 1. 24; mostly arch. and post-class. Introd. vi. C 13. Note the pleonasm *tantus . . . si potuerit.* Introd. vi. D.

quod supra nos, etc.: Socrates rejected the study of physics in favour of ethics, the study of the latter being more conducive to good living (Cic. *Acad.* 1. 4. 15). Lact. (*Div. Inst.* 3. 20. 10) misinterprets the expression. Tertull. ascribes it to Epicurus (*Ad Nat.* 2. 4). Cf. ὁ θάνατος οὐθὲν πρὸς ἡμᾶς (Diog. Laert. 10. 125); *nihil ad Epicurum* (Cic. *Fin.* 1. 39).

§ 2. **merito . . . meruit,** "deservedly he obtained." The words of the oracle were: ἀνδρῶν ἁπάντων Σωκράτης σοφώτατος (Diog. Laert. *Vita Socr.* 37).

praesensit, "he perceived intuitively"; cf. *cum talem esse deum certa notione animi praesentiamus* (Cic. *N.D.* 2. 17. 45). Waltzing adopts the emend. *persensit* (Ouzelius). Cf. Plato, *Apol.* 6, 14; Cic. *Acad.* 1. 26; Just. M. *Cohort. ad Graec.* 37.

se: wanting in P; emend. of Wower.

confessae imperitiae, "(consisting) of the admission of ignorance"; explan. gen. with *prudentia.* Introd. vi. C 19. *Confessus* as a pass. part. is found in Cic. (*Verr.* 2. 3. 56), but is mostly post-Aug. Introd. vi. B 5.

§ 3. **Arcesilae**: Arcesilaus (*circ.* 315-240 B.C.) was founder of the Middle Academy. He admitted the existence of truth, but denied man's capacity to reach it: hence the necessity of suspended judgment (ἐποχή, *dubitatio*). Carneades (*circ.* 213-129 B.C.) was founder of the Third or New Academy. Here Academic scepticism attained its fuller development, probability being considered

the only guide in practical life (Cic. *N.D.* 1. 11 ; *Or.* 2. 37. 155 ; *Tusc.* 4. 3. 5).

plurimorum : for Plato, founder of the Old Academy, and his disciples doubt was the beginning, not the end of knowledge.

§ 4. **Simonides** : of Ceos, the lyric poet (*circ.* 556-467 B.C.). Tert. (*Apol.* 46. 8 ; *Ad Nat.* 2. 2) refers this incident to Thales and Croesus. Cf. Cic. *N.D.* 1. 60.

primo . . . mox . . . postremo : cf. *extemplo . . . mox . . . postremo* (Livy 40. 48. 6) ; Tac. *A.* 11. 22.

deliberationi : dat. of end in view. Introd. vi. C 23.

biduum prorogavit : *prorogare* in class. Lat. means "to extend," "prolong," "defer," "postpone." Here it is used in its orig. sense "to ask beforehand." Cf. *ambitus* (4. 6), *felix* (20. 3), etc. Introd. vi. A 3. Cf. Cic. *N.D.* 1. 22.

quod, "because."

tardior pergeret : for adv. use of adj. see Introd. vi. C 6.

§ 5. **ut sunt,** "as there are in reality."

deliberantibus : cf. *ipsa philosophia deliberat* (5. 4).

audaciter : *audacter* the usual form in class. Lat. Introd. vi. B 6.

alteram = *alterutram* ; 5. 1 ; cf. Cic. *Acad.* 2. 43.

CHAPTER XIV

§ 1. **renidens** : read. of *r* ; *renitens* P. Tr. "beaming with joy" ; cf. *homo renidens* (Livy 35. 49) ; *ore renidenti* (Ov. *M.* 8. 197) ; and by similar transf. *ridere* for *splendere* (Hor. *Od.* 4. 6). Cf. *et cum exsurgeret Scaevola simul arridens : Neque enim, inquit*, etc. (Cic. *De Or.* 1. 265).

Plautinae prosapiae : the epithet *plautus* was applied to dogs with long, languid ears (Paul e Fest. 231 Müll.) ; cf. *Plautus cum latranti nomine* (Plaut. *Cas.* 5. 34). Hence *plautinus* may be regarded as synonym. with *caninus.* Quint. speaking of abusive, snarling eloquence quotes Appius : *Ea est enim prorsus canina, ut ait Appius, eloquentia, censuram maledicendi subire* (12. 9. 9). Cf. *verba canina* (Col. 1. praef. 9), "cutting words." Caecilius retaliates for the caustic remarks of Octavius (3. 1). *Prosapia* : arch., cf. Cic. *Tim.* 11 ; *Plautinae prosapiae* (Jer. *Ep.* 2. 7. 48).

pisciculorum praecipuus : the read. of P is *pistorum*, which is interpreted as containing a ref. to an incident in the life of Plautus, the comic writer, when he was compelled through poverty to hire his services to a baker (Gell. *N.A.* 3. 3). *Pistores*, "the drudges

of society," who formed a great part of the Christian community. Cf. *mitto hasce artes vulgares, coquos, pistores, lecticarios* (Cic. *R. Am.* 46. 134). It seems more likely that *pistorum* is a corruption of *pisclōrum* written in the MS. as a contract. for *pisciculorum*. Christians were referred to as *pisciculi* (Tert. *Bapt.* 1) from their use of the fish symbol,—adopted, as later writers maintain, because the Gk. word ἰχθῦς contains the initials of Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς Θεοῦ Υἱὸς Σωτήρ. — The term *pisciculi*, however, had an opprobrious signification. See Suet. *Tib.* 44, where it is applied to the innocent victims of Tiberius's lust. The corruption into *pistorum* might have easily occurred, as the contraction mark (pisctorum) over the *cl* may have misled a copyist. Gronovius suggested *iurisconsultorum*, in contr. form *IC torum*. Schöne reads *patronus istorum* (*p. istorum* of origin.).

§ 2. **parce . . . plaudere**: *parcere* "to refrain from" with infin. after analogy of *desino*, *omitto*; cf. Livy 34. 32; mostly poet.; Introd. vi. C 31. It was customary for actors to call for applause at the end of a play. In declamation exercises also, the audience invariably applauded (Quint. 2. 2. 9). Here Caecilius's smiling sarcasm is self-applause at the expense of (*in*) Octavius.

concinnitate sermonis, "the good order of the discussion"; abl. after *dignum*.

maxime cum: 2. 2.

laudi = *ad laudem*; dat. of end in view. Introd. vi. C 23.

§ 3. **quamquam delectarit**: 5. 1. Cf. *quamquam admodum delectatus sum eius oratione . . . tamen* (Cic. *Fin.* 2. 3).

altius moveor . . . quod, "I am more deeply concerned . . . for the fact that." *De*, "by reason of." Introd. vi. C 48 d.

plerumque, "often"; cf. Tac. *A.* 4. 57; *H.* 5. 1.

mutetur: cf. *gaudeo quod Octavius vicerit* (40. 3). Introd. vi. C 36.

§ 4. The remainder of this chapter is after Plato, *Phaedo* 88-90 c.

id accidere, etc.: cf. Cic. *N.D.* 1. 5; Clem. Alex. *Strom.* 1. 8.

dum: 6. 2.

lenocinio, "seductive allurement"; post-class. as applied to speech. Cf. Quint. 8, proem. 26; Tac. *H.* 1. 18.

rerum intentionibus, "attention to realities"; cf. *avocare ab intentione operis* (Quint. 10. 3. 23); *rerum intentio* (*id.* 6. 3. 1).

in incredibili, etc.: Baldwin for *incredibile* of P. Waltzing reads *et incredibile verum et verisimile mendacium* (Winterfield). Read. of P is *in verisimile*.

§ 5. **arguuntur**, "they are proved to be wrong."

culpam . . . querelam, "they shift the blame that attaches to the judge (i.e. themselves) and complain of the doubtfulness (of the case)." Cf. *suam quisque culpam auctores ad negotia transferunt* (Sall. *Iug.* 1); *μὴ οὐδενὸς ἄξιοι εἶμεν κριταὶ ἢ καὶ τὰ πράγματα αὐτὰ ἄπιστα ᾖ* (Plato, *Phaedo* 88 c).

ut, "with the result that."

omnibus : sc. *rebus.* Introd. vi. C 5.

suspendere, "withhold judgement upon." Gk. *ἐπέχειν* (cf. 13. 3). They become sceptics.

§ 6. **odio . . . sermonum :** cf. *μὴ γενώμεθα μισόλογοι* (Plato, *ibid.* 89 c). *Identidem* : here "continually," the climax after *saepius, frequentius* ; cf. *πολλάκις, θάμα* (*id., ibid.* 89 c).

plerique = *permulti,* as freq. in Tac.

efferantur : cf. *efferavit caedes Thebanos omnes ad exsecrabile odium Romanorum* (Livy 33. 29) ; *καὶ ἤδη τὸν λοιπὸν βίον μισῶν τε καὶ λοιδορῶν διατελοῖ* (Plato, *ibid.* 90 c).

his : more indicative than the determinative *iis* ; cf. 8. 2 ; 33. 4. These prons. are freq. confounded in MSS.

§ 7. **solliciti** = *εὐλαβηθῶμεν* of Plato (*ibid.* 90 c).

disseratur . . . sit : subjs. of sub-obliq. orat. *Quod,* "remembering that."

altero latere = *altera parte* ; not class., cf. *alio latere* (Tac. *A.* 3. 74), "on the other flank."

fidem . . . imitetur, "produces a counterfeit credit of conclusive proof." *Confessae* : 13. 2.

quantum potest : 3. 5.

CHAPTER XV

§ 1. **religiosi,** "conscientious."

periniurium : adj. ; "very wrong." Arch. (Cat.).

intergressu = *interventu* ; an *ἅπαξ εἰρημ.* Introd. vi. A 2. Caecilius complains that the side-tracking disquisition of Minucius has broken the full force of his own argument.

integra et illibata : a freq. combination in silver Lat. ; cf. Sen. *Dial.* 2. 6. 7 ; *Benef.* 2. 4. 3 ; Pliny, *Pan.* 25. 1.

habeat . . . refutare, "ought to refute" ; arch. and post-class., cf. *rogas ut id mihi habeam curare* (Varro, *R.R.* 1. 1. 2). This must be distinguished from the class. use of *habere* with infin. = *posse.*

§ 2. **compendium :** "gain" ; lit. that which is kept or weighed together, hence a "saving." Minucius replies that his general

remarks on disputation, which Caecilius impugns, are for the common good of the parties.

examine scrupuloso, "by careful weighing"; abl. of manner. *Examen*, fr. *exigo* "that which makes exact," "the tongue of a balance." Cf. Verg. *A.* 12. 725 (*examine aequato*); Pers. *S.* 1. 5 (*examen improbum*). *Scrupulosus*, lit. "full of pointed stones," is here used in post-Aug. sense.

nec = *neque tamen*; 4. 6; 12. 3.

intentio, "attention."

Ianuarii: Octavius.

gestientis, "ardently anxious" as shown by outward demonstration (*gestu*); construed by Cic. with infin. (*Phil.* 6. 14); by Plaut. (*Most.* 3. 2. 126) absolutely as here.

CHAPTER XVI

§ 1. **ut potero, etc.:** pleonasm; 13. 1. Introd. vi. D.

tibi: Minucius.

amarissimam labem: hypallage; for *conviciorum amarissimorum labem.* Introd. vi. E.

flumine: Meursius for *in lumine* of P. Cf. *orationis flumine reprehensoris convicia diluuntur* (Cic. *N.D.* 2. 7. 20); *neque enim flumine turbor inanium verborum* (*id.*, *ibid.* 2. 1).

Natalis mei: Caecilius. Note the friendly attitude of Octavius.

errantem, vagam: cf. *non errantem et vagam sed stabilem certamque sententiam* (Cic. *N.D.* 2. 1. 2).

vafra dictione: emend. of Schöne for *tua eruditio* of P. Octavius says that he does not know whether the incoherency and inconsistency of the argument of Caecilius are due to cunning pleading,—with the object of damaging the reply; or whether the fault lies with the falsity (*errorem*) of his convictions. In deference to Caecilius, he immediately precludes the first alternative. Other emends. are *vafritia* (Haupt, Waltzing), *versutia* (Vahlen).

turbata sit: cf. Cic. *N.D.* 2. 1 (quoted supra).

§ 2. **interim . . . interim,** "at one time . . . at another"; post-class., cf. Quint. 5. 10. 34.

variavit = *varie dixit* (Livy 27. 27).

incerto incertior: emend. of Ursinus for *incerto certior* of P. Tr.: "that by the ambiguity of his argument the force of my reply might be weakened, having less sure ground to rest upon"

(Holden). *Incertior* is used proleptically. *Incerto* is the abl. of means or instrument after *fundatum*; cf. *nihil veritate fundatum* (Cic. *Flacc.* 11. 26). Davies retains the MS. read., reading *ne* instead of *ut* before *propositionis.* Schone omits *certior.*

urbanitas, "cunning."

§ 3. **viam . . . anxius:** cf.—

ut stat, et incertus, qua sit sibi
nescit eundum.

(Ov. *F.* 5. 3); Lact. *Ver. Cult.* 3. 6.

plures diffinditur: cf. *partes ubi se via findit in ambas* (Verg. *A.* 6. 540). Cf. story of Choice of Heracles (Xen. *Mem.* 2. 1. 21; Cic. *Off.* 1. 32. 118). *Diffinditur* (Gelenius) for *diffunditur* of P.

haeret anxius: 13. 4.

stabile iudicium, "an abiding criterion."

dubia dissipatur, "is dissolved in doubt." Prolepsis.

§ 4. **repugnantibus,** "contradictions"; cf. Cic. *Or.* 2. 40. 170.

aestuet: cf. *dubitatione aestuare* (Cic. *Verr.* 2. 2. 30); Hor. *Ep.* 1. 1. 99.

una veritate, "the truth which is one."

sic: Davies for *sint* of P.

§ 5. **meus frater:** 3. 1.

erupit: cf. *stomachum erumpere* (Cic. *Att.* 16. 3. 1); *furor erupit* (*id.*, *Sull.* 24).

habiles: in class. Lat. always construed with *ad* or dat.

insitos sapientiam = *insitam habere sapientiam.* Cic. freq. uses *insitus* of qualities infused into the soul, e.g. *quod erat insitus menti cognitionis amor* (*Fin.* 4. 10); *N.D.* 1. 17. 44. Hence the epithet is transferred from quality infused to recipient. This use of accus. with perf. part. pass., generally called accus. of respect, is very common in Verg. The participle, rather, may be regarded as having an act. or mid. force; cf. *inscripti nomina flores* (Verg. *E.* 3. 106); *inflatum venas* (*id.*, *E.* 6. 15); *caesariem effusae* (*id.*, *G.* 4. 337).

sapientiam: 1. 4.

memorias: perhaps to be taken here in lit. sense (sc. *hominum*), not as 31. 3. For plur. see Introd. vi. C 1. Cf. *ne in ora hominum abiret* (Livy 2. 26. 3); *ibit in saeculum fuisse principem* (Pliny, *Pan.* 55); Lact. *Div. Inst.* 1. 22.

adeo, "in fact"; 5. 9.

facultatibus illigatos, "entangled in their wealth"; *illigatus*, poet. and post-Aug. in this sense. Cf. Lact. *Div. Inst.* 6. 5; St. Paul, *Tim.* 2. 2. 4.

nostrates, "the men of our school"; cf. *nostrates philosophi* (Cic. *Tusc.* 5. 32. 90).

commentos, "having carefully thought out"; in Plaut. and Cic. gen. in ref. to something untrue (Plaut. *Mil.* 2. 2. 71; *As.* 1. 1. 89; Cic. *N.D.* 2. 23. 59).

prudentiam: *prudentia . . . est rerum expetendarum fugiendarumque scientia* (Cic. *Off.* 1. 43. 153).

§ 6. **si . . . quaerat**: for this use of *si* with subj. instead of accus. and infin. or *quod* with indic. cf. Cic. *Rep.* 4. 3. 3; *Off.* 2. 9. 31: Livy 28. 48. 1.

non disputantis auctoritas: cf. *non tam auctoris in disputando quam rationis momenta quaerenda sunt* (Cic. *N.D.* 1. 5. 10).

ut est, "on its own merits" (Brod.).

CHAPTER XVII

§ 1. **nec recuso**, "nor do I protest"; jurid. lang., cf. *non abnuo, non recuso* (Cic. *Mil.* 36. 100).

hominem nosse, etc.: cf. Clem. Alex. *Paedag.* 3. 1 (πάντων μέγιστον μαθημάτων τὸ γνῶναι αὐτόν); Lact. *Div. Inst.* 1. 1. 24.

elementis = *membra* (5. 7), the so-called four elements, i.e. beginnings or ABC of Nature.

concinnatus = *apte compositus*; freq. in Plaut., not in Cic.

§ 2. **universitatis**, "the universe"; cf. *universitas rerum* (Cic. *N.D.* 1. 43. 120); *universitatis corpus* (*id.*, *Tim.* 5).

cum . . . sint, "since things are . . ." *Concatenata*: neolog. Introd. vi. A 2.

rem civilem, "worldly affairs."

mundi civitatem: cf. *mundum esse quasi communem urbem et civitatem hominum et deorum* (Cic. *Fin.* 3. 64).

praecipue cum: 2. 2.

illa prona: cf. Ov.—

> *prona cum spectent animalia cetera terram*
> *os homini sublime dedit caelumque tueri*
> *iussit et erectos ad sidera tollere vultus*

(*Met.* 1. 84); Cic. *N.D.* 2. 55. 140; Xen. *Mem.* 1. 4. 11.

nata sint: subj. by attract. to *differamus*. *Prospicere*: poet. constr.; Introd. vi. C 31.

nec licet, "nor is it possible."

vel maxime instar, "as like as can be."

§ 3. **hunc . . . ornatum,** "all this well-ordered cosmic system" (Brod.). Cf. *hunc mundi ornatum* (Cic. *Fin.* 1. 20; *Acad.* 2. 38).

frustis, "fragments"; Quint. 8. 5. 27. In Cic. *frustum* always means a "piece of bread."

mentem . . . non habere: cf. *ut, haec ipsa qui non sentiat deorum vim habere, is nihil omnino censurus esse videatur* (Cic. *N.D.* 2. 25); *id., ibid.* 2. 149.

§ 4. **quid . . . tam apertum**: cf. *quid enim potest esse tam apertum tamque perspicuum, cum caelum suspeximus caelestiaque contemplati sumus, quam esse aliquod numen praestantissimae mentis, quo haec regantur* (*id., ibid.* 2. 4); *id., Legg.* 1. 8; *Tusc.* 13; *Arusp.* 9; St. Paul, *Rom.* 1. 20; Tert. *Apol.* 17; Lact. *Div. Inst.* 1. 2. *Confessum*: 13. 2. *Inspiretur*: poet. and post-Aug.; cf. *Genesis*, 2. 7.

§ 5. **caelum vide**: cf. *principio maria ac terras caelumque tuere* (Lucr. 5. 92).

vel . . . vel: with weakened disjunctive force; almost = *et . . . et*. Cf. *vel Athenis vel Rhodi* (Cic. *Or.* 2. 1. 3).

distinguitur: cf. *caelum astris distinctum et ornatum* (Cic. *N.D.* 2. 95); *id., ibid.* 2. 15.

iam . . . scies: 7. 2.

quam: join with *mira et divina*.

ut, "how"; Gk. constr. freq. in comic poets.

auctu, etc., "increase," the period from new to full moon; mostly post-Aug.; not in Cic. *Senio*, "wane," the period from full moon to last quarter; cf. Cic. *Tim.* 6. *Labore*, "rebirth," the period between last quarter and first appearance of new moon, when the moon is struggling, as it were, to come back to view. *Labor* describes usually an eclipse of the moon; cf. *defectus solis varios lunaeque labores* (Verg. *G.* 2. 478; cf. *A.* 1. 742). Cf. *lunae forma mutatur, tum crescendo, tum defectibus in initia recurrendo* (Cic. *N.D.* 2. 50).

§ 6. **reparatio**: post-Aug.; cf. Prud. *Cath.* 10. 120; Cic., *iam diei noctisque vicissitudo conservat animantes tribuens aliud agendi tempus, aliud quiescendi* (*N.D.* 2. 132).

vel . . . inducant: for *vel . . . vel* see § 5 *supra*; the subjs. are of sub-obl. orat. Cf. *sesque ipse versans sempiternae vitae induxit exordium* (Cic. *Tim.* 23). Schöne adopts *indicant* (Daniels) after Cic. *Div.* 1. 9. 15; cf. Verg. *G.* 1. 204. The latter part of

this chap. is modelled on Cic. *N.D.* 2. 91-129 ; 154-162 ; cf. *Tusc.* 1. 68.

quae singula : cf. *quae non modo ut fierent, ratione eguerunt, sed intellegi qualia sint sine summa ratione non possunt* (Cic. *N.D.* 2. 115).

§ 7. **hiberna . . . necessaria,** "winter with its indispensable olive harvest." *Olivitas* is arch. (Varro) and post-Aug. (Colum.). Introd. vi. A 8. According to Columella (*De Re Rust.* 12. 50) the olive gathering took place in the month of December. Note the symmetry and variety of this description. Introd. vi. D.

consisteret, "hold together" ; a poet. (Ov. *Tr.* 5. 10. 4) and post-Aug. (Cels. 4. 20. 15) use.

§ 8. **iam,** "moreover."

quantae : placed after its subst., the latter being specially emphasised ; cf. *corporibus quibus* (11. 7) ; *tormentis quibus* (22. 2) ; *templum quod* (32. 1). Cf. Cic., *deus falli qui potuit* (*N.D.* 3. 31. 76).

temperamentum, "temperature," for class. *temperatio* ; cf. Pliny, *N.H.* 19. 8. 44 : lit. "blend," "mixture in due proportion." Spring and autumn are blends of the two extremes, summer and winter.

revertentis : join with *per vestigia.*

occulti et innoxii : for this argument cf. Xen. *Mem.* 4. 3. 9.

§ 9. **intende :** 7. 5.

lege litoris : subj. gen. : cf. *quando certa lege . . . vallabat abyssos* (*Prov.* 8. 29) ; Job 38. 8-11 ; Jer. 5. 22.

quidquid arborum, "tree life."

e terrae visceribus : cf. Cic. *N.D.* 2. 120.

oceanum : the Atlantic : the Mediterranean (*mare*) is almost tideless.

semper : join with *exercitis.* Introd. vi. A 8.

§ 10. **quid loquar :** with accus. ; 5. 10.

recta montium, etc. : poet. constr. : cf. *supera ardua* (Verg. *A.* 7. 562) ; *extrema agminis* (Livy 6. 32. 11). Cf. Cic., *montium altitudines immensitatesque camporum* (*N.D.* 2. 98).

adversus sese : reciprocal ; cf. Livy 6. 28. 1.

dentibus saeptas, etc. : the teeth are the fence of protection : cf. Hom. ἕρκος ὀδόντων. *Fundatas,* "set upon."

elatione : post-class. in this the lit. sense.

§ 11. **formae pulchritudo :** cf. *quae figura, quae species humana potest esse pulchrior ?* (Cic. *N.D.* 1. 47).

status rigidus, "an unbent posture." *Rigidus,* lit. "stiff,

hard, inflexible"; cf. *fluminis rigor* "the straight course of a river" (*Dig.* 43. 12. 1). Cf. Cic. *N.D.* 2. 5. 6; *Legg.* 1. 9; Aug. *Civ. Dei*, 14. 24; Lact. *Div. Inst.* 2. 17. 19.

oculi . . . sensus: cf. *oculi tamquam speculatores . . . sensus tamquam in arce collocati* (Cic. *ibid.* 2. 56).

CHAPTER XVIII

§ 1. **nihil in homine, etc.**: *omnia in hominis figura non modo ad usum verum etiam ad venustatem apta* (Cic. *N.D.* 1. 18. 47).

deflexa = *diversa*; lit. "bent off" from the normal standard.

inter se, "one with another"; a stereotyped phrase in this reciprocal sense; cf. *quosdam inter se similes* (Cic. *Ac.* 2. 17. 55).

§ 2. **et ut**: sc. *datum est.*

lactei roris: cf. Cic., *natos vitali rore rigabat* (*Div.* 1. 12. 20). Introd. vi. A 8.

§ 3. **nec universitati, etc.**: cf. Cic., *nec vero universo generi hominum solum, sed etiam singulis . . . consuli solet* (*N.D.* 2. 164).

solummodo: post-Aug. for class. *tantummodo.*

Britannia . . . deficitur: cf. Strabo, *Geog.* 4, pp. 199-201 (ed. Paris); Tac. *Agric.* 12; Caes. *B.G.* 5. 13. *Deficio* in pass. is rare in class. Lat.; cf. Cic., *mulier . . . consilio et ratione deficitur* (*Clu.* 65. 184).

maris tepore: the Gulf Stream. Cic. explains such heat in the waters as due to the action of the winds (*N.D.* 2. 10. 26).

temperare . . . solet: emend. of Cima for *temperat . . . colet* of P. Cf. Cic. *N.D.* 2. 52. 130 for the same instances with the exception of Britain.

pensat = *compensat*; mostly post-Aug., not in Cic. or Caes. The constr. here with *pro* seems to be without parallel. The more correct constr. would be *vicem imbrium pensat* (cf. Pliny 31. 8. 44).

§ 4. **aliquam domum, etc.**: after Cic. *N.D.* 2. 5. 15. Cf. Lact. *Orig. Err.* 8. 66.

caelo terraque: without prep.; 5. 5. Introd. vi. C 25. Cic. apologises for the expression, *ut poetice loquar* (*Fin.* 5. 4. 9). Emend. of Thomas for *coelum terramque* of P; Halm retains MS. reading and inserts *perlustrans*; Schöne inserts *per.*

§ 5. **ni forte**: introducing a frivolous objection (Gk. εἰ μὴ καί).

providentia: here a designation of the deity; post-Aug. Cf. *oratio qua nihil praestantius homini dedit providentia* (Quint. 1. 10. 7).

plurimorum, "very many."

exempla . . . de caelo: sc. *sunt*. Human kingdoms are modelled on that of heaven. Cf. Cypr. *Idol. Van.* 5; Athanas. *Contra Gent.* 38.

§ 6. **regni societas**: cf. *nulla sancta societas nec fides regni est* (Enn. ap. Cic. *Off.* 1. 8. 26); Lucan 1. 93.

discessit, "dissolved"; cf. Cic. *Quint.* 2. 3. 5; Livy 3. 11.

Persas: ref. to succession of Darius (Herod. 3. 84).

de hinnitu: *de*, "by means of." Introd. vi. C 48 e.

Thebanorum par . . . fabulam: Gronovius for *per mortuam fabulam* of P. Cf. *Thebanum par* (Petr. *Sat.* 80). Holden reads *Thebanorum par mortuum, fabulam* (Oehler). Ref. is to Eteocles and Polynices who occupied the throne of Thebes in alternate years.

memoria: the kingship of Eteocles and Polynices is an obsolete tale (*mortuam*, cf. *mortuae leges* Cic. *Verr.* 2. 5. 18), that of Romulus and Remus is a fact of history. Both preps. (*ob*, *de*) are construed with *memoria* which retains its verbal signif. (*memorare de*). *Ob*, "for the sake of"; sc. *alterum alterum necavisse.*

generi . . . soceri: Pompey and Caesar; cf. Verg. *A.* 6. 830.

duos fortuna: cf. *populique potentis non cepit fortuna duos* (Lucan, *Phar.* 1. 111); Flor. 2. 13. 14; Sen. *Thyest.* 444.

§ 7. **rex**: cf. *tu regibus alas eripe* (Verg. *G.* 4. 106).

maiestatem: Gronovius for *potestatem* of P. Davies retains *potestatem*, omitting it after *summam* which he takes as subst.

qui nativitatem: *qui* causal; *nativitatem*, post-class. Cf. St. Paul, *Tim.* 1. 6. 13-16.

perpetuitatem, "uninterrupted existence."

iubet: sc. *esse.*

virtute, "might." Cf. Tert. *Apol.* 17. 1.

§ 8. **tactu purior est**: introd. by Meursius from Cyprian (*Idol. Van.* 55), who transcribes this pass. almost literally; cf. Tert. *Apol.* 17; Theoph. *Ad Autol.* 1. 5; Tat. *Ad Graec.* 4; Lact. *Div. Inst.* 7. 8. *Purus*: without admixture of any kind, immaterial, spiritual; cf. Cic., *animus omni admixtione corporis liberatus, purus et integer* (*Sen.* 22. 80).

ad intellectum = *ad intelligendum.*

pectus: cf. *toto pectore cogitemus* (Cic. *Att.* 13. 12. 4).

dum: 6. 2.

§ 10. **nec . . . quaeras**: cf. *nec quidquam raptim . . . egeritis* (Livy 23. 5. 3). Cf. Just. M. *Apol.* 1. 10 and 61; 2. 6; Orig. *Ad Cels.* 6.

illic, "in that case"; cf. Livy 2. 48. 9.

insignibus, "designation."

totum: i.e. not common to any genus or species.

carnalem: as opp. to *spiritalis*; eccles. Lat. Introd. vi. A 3.

§ 11. **isto** = *ista re*; 5. 7. Introd. vi. C 5.

vulgus: 2. 4. Cf. Tert. appealing to the *testimonium animae naturaliter Christianae* (*Apol.* 17).

principem: sc. *deorum.*

una potestate, "the unity of his power."

CHAPTER XIX

§ 1. **poetas**: Enn. ap. Cic., *patrem divumque hominumque* (*N.D.* 2. 2. 4); cf. Hom., *πατὴρ ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε* (*Il.* 1. 544); Verg. *A.* 10. 2.

talem esse, etc.:

> *τοῖος γὰρ νόος ἐστὶν ἐπιχθονίων ἀνθρώπων*
> *οἷον ἐπ' ἦμαρ ἄγῃσι πατὴρ ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε*

(Hom. *Od.* 18. 136), translated by Cic.—

> *Tales sunt hominum mentes, quales pater ipse*
> *Iupiter auctiferas lustravit lumine terras.*
> (ap. Aug. *Civ. Dei*, 3. 8. 5.)

diem duxerit: a lit. trans. of the Greek. A man's spirit is joyful or sorrowful as God grants favourable circumstances or the reverse. Cf. *ducebatque diem* (Verg. *A.* 2. 801).

§ 2. **proximius**, "more accurately"; cf. *proximior* (Sen. *Ep.* 108. 15); *si quis proximior cognatus nasceretur* (Ulp. ap. Prisc.). Introd. vi. B.

principio: a paraphr. of Verg. *A.* 6. 724-729.

deum namque: Verg. *G.* 4. 221-223. Minucius evidently quoted from memory, as the verse *unde hominum* . . . is from Verg. *A.* 1. 746; line 223 of *G.* 4 being *hinc pecudes, armenta, viros genus omne ferarum.* Read. of P is *unde homines et pecudes.* Emend. by Vahlen. Verg. here propounds the Pythagorean theory which regards life as a vital substance permeating the universe, something analogous to air and fire. Cf. Cic. *N.D.* 2. 15.

quid aliud . . . deus: cf. *quid est deus? mens universi* (Sen. *Nat. Quaest.* 1). *Et* = *etiam.*

§ 4. **rudes . . . veteres**: cf. Cic. *De Am.* 2. 7. Ref. is to the sages who had no definite system of philosophy, but were famous for their maxims of practical wisdom, e.g. *χαλεπὸν ἐσθλὸν ἔμμεναι*,

καιρὸν γνῶθι (Pittacus), *φιλεῖν ὡς μισήσοντας* (Bias), *μηδὲν ἄγαν* (Solon), *γνῶθι σεαυτόν* (Thales).

The end of this chap. is taken from Cic. *N.D.* 1. 25-43. Octavius takes his argument from the mouth of the Epicurean Velleius; but the latter's object is to show the absurdity of other philosophical systems compared with that of Epicurus, while the Christian's aim is to show that all systems agreed in admitting the existence of one God.

de, "by reason of." Introd. vi. C 48 d.

esse meruerunt : 6. 1.

Thales (*circ.* 636-546 B.C.) was the founder of Grecian philosophy, being the first to discard mythology and seek for a physical origin of the world (Plut. *Plac. Phil.* 1. 3).

caelestibus, "the universe"; 5. 7.

is autem : Vahlen for *isdem* of P; cf. *is lusus* (3. 6).

deum . . . mentem : cf. Cic. *N.D.* 1. 25. Thales, however, made no provision in his system for such an exterior guiding principle.

en : Holden for *eo* of P. Tr. "Behold, the theory of water and spirit is of a profundity and sublimity beyond the power of human discovery; it was a thing revealed of God." This use of *en* to express surprise is class., freq. in Verg. Other emends. of *eo* are *eho* (Davies), *esto* (Vahlen adopt. by Waltzing), *et* (Herald.), *exactior* (Gronov.). Minucius apparently traces the theory of Thales to Genesis (*et spiritus dei ferebatur super aquas* 1. 2), conceiving, probably, that the tradition reached the philosopher from the Jews through the Egyptians. Justin M. says that Homer, Orpheus, Pythagoras etc. learned from Moses (*Cohort. ad Graec.* 14). See Mayor, Tert. *Apol.* 46.

principalis, "first" in order of time.

§ 5. **Anaximenes** of Miletus *flor. circ.* 544 B.C. He considered air to be the primal element. Diogenes of Apollonia in Crete was his pupil.

aëra . . . infinitum . . . immensum : Gk. *ἄπειρον.* Cf. Cic. *N.D.* 1. 26; Aug. *Civ. Dei*, 8. 2. According to Anaximenes and Grecian philosophers up to Plato and Socrates, Anaxagoras excepted, the primal element in each system whether air or fire or water was divine. From this primal element everything was evolved with an equal share in its divinity.

§ 6. **Anaxagorae :** dat. of agent: Introd. vi. C 21. Anaxagoras, the last great philosopher of the Ionian school, taught in Athens 480-450 B.C., where he enjoyed the friendship of Pericles and

Euripides. He distinguished between matter and mind (*νοῦς*). Mind, infinite, unmoved from without, imparted motion to the particles of matter and wrought distinction and order out of the chaos (Arist. *Phys.* 8. 1). Mind, however, was itself a species of tenuous matter. Cf. Diog. Laert. 2. 2. 4 ; Lact. *Inst. Div.* 1. 5. 18.

discriptio . . . motus : emend. of Usener and Meursius resp., for *descriptio . . . metus* of P. Cf. *Anaxagoras primus omnium rerum discriptionem et motum mentis infinitae vi ac ratione designari et confici voluit* (Cic. *N.D.* 1. 11. 26).

Pythagorae : possess. gen. *Flor. circ.* 540-510 B.C. at Croton in Magna Graecia. The doctrine of mind permeating and expanding itself (*intentus*) throughout nature is to be ascribed to his disciples rather than to Pythagoras himself.

carpatur : Vahlen for *capitatur* of P. Cf. *Pythagoras qui censuit animum esse per naturalem rerum intentum et commeantem, ex quo nostri animi carperentur* (Cic. *N.D.* 1. 27) ; Diog. Laert. 8. 1. 19 ; Lact. *Div. Inst.* 1. 17.

§ 7. **Xenophanen** : *circ.* 576-480 B.C., founder of the Eleatics. He rejected polytheism, regarding the deity as the animating principle of the universe, but not distinct from it. Note Gk. accus. ; cf. *Antisthenen* infra ; *Socraten* 13. 1. Introd. vi. B 2.

cum mente = *mente adiuncta.* Join with *infinitum.* Cf. Cic., *Xenophanes mente adiuncta, omne praeterea quod esset infinitum, deum voluit esse* (*N.D.* 1. 28). For this use of *cum* denoting "endowment with," "possession of," cf. *ille vir haud magna cum re* (Enn. ap. Cic. *Sen.* 1. 1) ; Cic. *Verr.* 1. 8. 22.

Antisthenen : *circ.* 454-384 B.C., founder of the Cynics ; an enemy of all speculation, but maintained the unity of the deity.

naturalem unum praecipuum, "one above all, Nature." Cf. *Antisthenes in eo libro qui physicus inscribitur, populares deos multos, naturalem unum esse dicit* (Cic. *N.D.* 1. 32) ; Lact. *Div. Inst.* 1. 5. 18.

Speusippum : nephew of Plato and his successor as head of the Academy from 347-339 B.C. Cf. *Speusippus . . . vim quamdam dicens, qua omnia regantur, eamque animalem, evellere ex animis conatur cognitionem deorum* (Cic. *ibid.* 1. 32).

§ 8. **Democritus** : *circ.* 460-361 B.C. ; a disciple of Leucippus, whose theory of atoms he developed, but being more famous than his master, he is called the founder of the theory (*primus inventor*). He taught the existence of a soul of the universe (*κόσμου ψυχή*), consisting of tenuous atoms, from which the gods were sprung, being images (*εἴδωλα*) arising from this world soul and consisting

of the same material. From this world soul, too, the human soul was derived, comprised likewise of tenuous atoms. Cf. *Democritus, qui tum imagines earumque circuitus in deorum numero refert, tum illam naturam quae imagines fundat ac mittat, tum scientiam intelligentiamque nostram* (Cic. *ibid.* 1. 29); *id.*, *Fin.* 1. 15; Lact. *Div. Inst.* 3. 17. 23.

Straton, succeeded Theophrastus as head of Peripatetic school in 288 B.C.; surnamed *Physicus.* He denied the existence of any god outside the material universe. Cf. *omnem vim divinam in natura sitam esse censet, quae causas gignendi, augendi, minuendi habeat; sed careat omni sensu et figura* (Cic. *ibid.* 1. 13. 35); Lact. *Ira Dei*, 10. 1; Aug. *Civ. Dei*, 6. 10.

et ipse, "even he," notwithstanding his teaching.

Epicurus: 342-270 B.C. Owing to the universality of belief in the gods, Epicurus did not deny their existence, but maintained they had no concern for the world: *verbis reliquit deos, re sustulit* (Cic. *ibid.* 1. 30. 85). He regarded Nature as a blind unconscious force governing the movement of atoms. Cf. Tert. *Apol.* 47. 6.

superponit, "puts in charge." For this use cf. Livy, *Frag.* 91; for the function of Nature see 5. 7.

§ 9. **Aristoteles:** 384-322 B.C., disciple of Plato and founder of the Peripatetics. He believed in the existence of one supreme "Unmoved Mover," a supreme self-conscious intelligence (*mentem*); the notion of divine personality, however, finds no place in his system.

He varies (*variat*) inasmuch as at the outset he regards the Platonic "separate forms" as empty names, considering the individual existing thing as a composite of matter and a form which only exists in matter; while in the end he maintains the existence of a being of pure form, which imbues matter with form and is itself the prime mover (see Taylor, *Aristotle*, p. 51). Cf. *modo enim menti tribuit omnem divinitatem, modo mundum ipsum deum dicit esse; modo quemdam alium praeficit mundo* (Cic. *ibid.* 1. 13. 33); Plut. *Plac. Phil.* 7; Lact. *Div. Inst.* 5. 22.

Ponticus: the read. of P is: *Aristoles ponticus variat alias mundo alias menti divinae tribuens principatum heracleides ponticus quoque de deo divinam mentem quamvis varie adscribit* (*adscribendo* written above) *theophrastus et Zenon*, etc. To me it appears that *Aristoles* before *Ponticus* was orig. a marg. gloss (denoting subject of *praeficit*, see text) that crept into the text; and *Heracleides ponticus* after *principatum* appears to have been a marg. gloss explan. of *Ponticus.* This is the well-known philosopher Heracleides of Heraclea in Pontus. Cf. *Ponticus Heracleides modo*

mundum, tum mentem divinam esse putat (Cic. *ibid.* 1. 34). Before *quoque* some such word as *constat* seems to have been corrupted. The similarity of letters in *Ponticus* might account for this. Cf. *nec vero Theophrasti inconstantia ferenda est: modo enim menti divinum tribuit principatum, modo caelo, tum autem signis sideribusque caelestibus* (Cic. *ibid.* 1. 35). The omission of a finite verb *constat* would also account for the corruption of the gerund *ascribendo* to *ascribit.*

Theophrastus (*circ.* 363-278 B.C.) was the favourite pupil of Aristotle and his successor as president of the Lyceum.

Waltzing after Médan reads: *Theophrastus etiam variat, alias mundo, alias menti divinae tribuens principatum. Heraclides Ponticus quoque mundo divinam mentem, quamvis varie, adscribit.*

§ 10. **Zenon, etc.**: Zeno (*circ.* 336-265 B.C.) was founder of the Stoics. This school held that everything consisted of matter, which in turn consisted of an active and a passive element, the former being the moving force of the latter and the single, all-pervading soul of the world. Cf. *Zeno naturalem legem divinam esse censet; eamque vim obtinere recta imperantem, prohibentemque contraria* (Cic. *ibid.* 1. 14). **Cleanthes** (*circ.* 300-220 B.C.) was a pupil of Zeno and his successor as head of the Porch; he wrote a hymn to Zeus, still extant. **Chrysippus** (*circ.* 280-207 B.C.) was a disciple of Cleanthes; by maintaining the possibility of attaining knowledge he won great support for the doctrines of Stoicism, of which he was sometimes called the second founder.

multiformes: the Stoics also vary in the details of their teaching. Cf. *atque alio loco (Zenon) aethera deum esse dicit* (Cic. *ibid.* 1. 35); *Chrysippus . . . ait vim divinam in ratione esse positam, et in universae naturae animo atque mente, ipsumque mundum deum dicit esse . . . tum fatalem vim et necessitatem rerum futurarum, ignem praeterea et . . . aethera* (*id., ibid.* 1. 39); *Cleanthes tum ipsum mundum deum dicit esse, tum totius naturae menti atque animo tribuit hoc nomen, tum ardorem qui aether nominetur, certissimum deum iudicat* (*id., ibid.* 1. 14); Lact. *Div. Inst.* 5. 19; Diog. Laert. 7. 135; Tert. *Ad Marc.* 1. 13.

providentiae: 18. 5.

mentem . . . animum: after Cic. *ibid.* 1. 35 (quoted *supra*). *Mentem modo animum* is read. of P.

plerumque, "often"; 14. 3.

disserit: Davies for *disseruit* of P. The present gives the double cretic ending. Introd. vi. F; cf. *vult, revincit.*

atque divinam, "which is also divine"; see quot. fr. Cic. *supra.*

interpretando, etc. : cf. *aër autem, ut Stoici disputant, interiectus inter mare et caelum Iunonis nomine consecratur* (Cic. *ibid.* 2. 26); Athenag. *Suppl.* 18; Clem. Alex. *Protrept.* 5. 64; Plut. *Plac. Phil.* 1. 7.

elementa : cf. *rebus inanimis atque mutis per quamdam significationem haec docet (Zeno) tributa nomina* (Cic. *ibid.* 1. 14. 36).

publicum = *vulgarem (populicum)*; Introd. vi. 3 b.

§ 11. **eadem . . . Chrysippus** : cf. Cic. *N.D.* 1. 15; Diog. Laert. 7; Plut. *Plac. Phil.* 1. 7.

rationalem, "endowed with reason": post-Aug.

physiologica : Bursian for *physologiae* (corr. *philologiae*) of P. Tr. "naturalistic." Cf. Tert. *Ad Nat.* 2. 12.

Hesiodi, Homeri, etc. : cf. Cic. *ibid.* 1. 39.

§ 12. **Diogenes** the Babylonian, a pupil of Chrysippus and afterwards head of the Stoic school at Athens; one of the three ambassadors sent by the Athenians to Rome (155 B.C.). Cf. *Diogenes . . partum Iovis ortumque virginis ad physiologiam traducens disiungit a fabula* (Cic. *ibid.* 1. 41).

hoc genus, etc. : adv. accus. of descript. Cf. *id genus* (Cic. *Att.* 13. 12. 3). *Cetera rerum* Rigaltius for *ceterarum* of P.

§ 13. **nam** : freq. in Cic. to introduce illustrations.

Xenophon : the epithet *Socrat.* to distinguish him from the Xenophon of Ephesus. See *Memorabil.* 4. 3. 13. Cf. *facit Socratem disputantem formam dei quaeri non oportere* (Cic. *ibid.* 1. 31).

Aristo of Chios, a disciple of Zeno, *flor.* 260 B.C. Cf. *Aristo neque formam dei intellegi posse censet neque in diis sensum esse dicit* (Cic. *ibid.* 1. 14. 37).

caelestis, "divine," i.e. conformable to divine revelation; = *Christiana.* Cf. Cic., *quasi quemdam deum philosophorum* (*N.D.* 2. 32); *Tusc.* 1. 39; *Div.* 1. 53.

persuasionis civilis, "popular belief." *Persuasio* in this sense is post-Aug.; 9. 3.

sordesceret; post-Aug. Introd. vi. A 6.

§ 14. **ipso nomine** : τὸν . . . ποιητὴν καὶ πατέρα τοῦ παντός (Plato, *Tim.* 9).

artifex animae : νοῦν μὲν ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ, ψυχὴν δὲ ἐν τῷ σώματι συνιστάς (Plato, *ibid.* 30). Cf. Cic. *Tim.* 10.

fabricator : ὁ δημιουργός, ὁ τεκταινόμενος (Plato, *ibid.* 29). Cf. Cic. *ibid.* 6.

in publicum : 8. 4.

impossibile : post-Aug. Cf. εὑρεῖν τε ἔργον καὶ εὑρόντα εἰς πάντας ἀδύνατον λέγειν (Plato, *ibid.* 9). Cf. Just. M. *Apol.*

2. 11 ; Clem. Alex. *Cohort.* 6. 64 ; Tert. *Apol.* 46 ; Lact. *Fals. Relig.* 8. 1 ; Orig. *Contra Cels.* 7. 42. 43.

§ 15. **et ista** = *etiam ista.*

publice = *palam* ; post-class.

CHAPTER XX

§ 1. **deum unum, etc.** : cf. Athenag. *Suppl.* 7 ; Aug. *Vera Relig.* 4.

designasse : sc. *eos*, accus. and infin. after *exposui opiniones* = *demonstravi.*

multis licet : sc. *sit.* *Licet* introducing a subord. proposition that makes a concession without abandoning the main proposition, is freq. in class. Lat. For ellips. of verb cf. *immatura licet tamen huc non noxia veni* (Prop. 5. 11. 17).

aut nunc Christianos, etc. : conversion. Introd. vi. E. Cf. ἐὰν μή, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, ἢ οἱ φιλόσοφοι βασιλεύσωσιν ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν ἢ οἱ βασιλῆς τε νῦν λεγόμενοι καὶ δυνάσται φιλοσοφήσωσι γνησίως τε καὶ ἱκανῶς, κτλ. (Plato, *Rep.* 473). For a similar idea cf. Just. M. *Ad Graec.* 14 ; *Apol.* 1. 24-30 ; Orig. *Ad Cels.* 5. 57 ; 7. 59. According to Euseb. *Hist. Eccles.* 1. 4, Christianity is as old as creation. Cf. *Vita Const.* 2. 57. See Mayor, Tert. *Apol.* cc. 17, 19.

§ 2. **providentia** : 18. 5.

antiquitas imperitorum : explan. gen. = *imperita.* Introd. vi. C 19. Cf. *errabat multis in rebus antiquitas* (Cic. *Div.* 2. 33. 70). Cf. Clem. Alex. *Cohort.* 10.

ad . . . rapere : cf. *rapere in errorem* (Cic. *Legg.* 2. 43).

assistit = *adest* ; post-Aug. sense.

§ 3. **facilis in,** "prone to" ; cf. *facilitas* (8. 4 ; 14. 4).

mira miracula, "extraordinary marvels" ; cf. *mala malitia* (Plaut. *Aul.* 2. 2. 38) ; *gratas gratias* (Apul. *Met.* 1. 20). Waltzing adopts *mera* (Vahlen), comparing Cic. *mera monstra* (*Att.* 4. 7. 1).

felicibus, "prolific," orig. sense. Introd. vi. A 3. When one of the Hydra's heads was cut off, two grew in its place.

illis erat : a Graecism (ἦν αὐτοῖς), for the sake of metrical ending. Introd. vi. F. Cf. *ne tibi sit . . . adire* (Prop. 1. 20. 13).

§ 4. **quid** : sc. *memorem.*

feras omnes : Holden for *feras homines* of P. *Omnes*, "every kind of." Waltzing reads *feras* alone (Lindner). Vahlen supposes a lacuna (*et de lapidibus ac dentibus*) *ferae homines.* Sc. *factas esse.* Ref. is to the story of Procne, Philomela, Tereus, Ino Hyacinthus, Ajax, etc. ; cf. Ov. *Met.* 6. 424-675.

§ 5. **absque vero** = *falso*; reading of P is *ac vero*. The corruption of *absque* into *atque*, *ac* might easily occur. Cf *absque argumento* (Cic. *Att.* 1. 19. 1). Waltzing reads *erraverunt* (Vahlen). Holden reads *similiter vero ac*.

erga deos . . . crediderunt, "was their attitude of belief towards the gods." *Erga* in post-Aug. authors is used of every kind of mental relation to a pers. or thing, e.g. *anxii erga Seianum* (Tac. *A.* 4. 74); *erga exercitus . . . laudes* (*id.*, *H.* 2. 55). Cf. *erga populum Romanum fides* (Caes. *B.G.* 5. 44. 4). Octavius has illustrated the *facilis in mendaciis fides* of former generations in matters of monsters and things of earth; he now states that their belief in divinity also (*quoque*) was a deluded one.

dum: 6. 2.

defunctos = *mortuos*; poet., lit. signif. being "finished with," "done with." Cf. *defunctaque corpora vita* (Verg. *A.* 6. 306).

memorias: for plural see Introd. vi. C 1.

assumpta solacia, "things adopted to give consolation."

§ 6. **denique, etc.**: cf. *atque in plerisque civitatibus intellegi potest augendae virtutis gratia, quo libentius reipublicae causa periculum adiret optimus quisque, virorum fortium memoriam honore deorum immortalium consecratam* (Cic. *N.D.* 3. 50); Lact. *Div. Inst.* 1. 18.

CHAPTER XXI

§ 1. **historicorum**: Ursinus for *Stoicorum* of P, after Lact.: *prius humana testimonia offerri id est philosophorum et historicorum, ut suis potissimum refutaretur auctoribus* (*Div. Inst.* 5. 4. 6).

Euhemerus *flor. circ.* 316 B.C.; wrote a *Sacred History* (Ἱερὰ Ἀναγραφή), purporting to be based on inscriptions found in the island of Panchaea, in which he rationalises the myths concerning the gods. The work was translated by Ennius. Cf. Cic. *N.D.* 1. 42; Tert. *Apol.* 10-11; Aug. *Civ. Dei*, 6. 7; 7. 26. Read. of P is *erueret*; emend. by Gelenius.

exsequitur, "gives a list of."

natales, "extraction"; post-Aug. sense.

Dictaei Iovis: the myth was that Jupiter had been hidden in a cave in Mt. Dicte in Crete by his mother to save him from destruction at the hands of his father, Kronos. Cf. Lucr. 2. 633; Ov. *F.* 4. 207.

Phariae: Pharos, an island off Alexandria in Egypt.

Cereris Eleusiniae: 6. 1.

§ 2. **Prodicus** of Ceos, the sophist, a contemporary of Socrates,

held by Plato and Xenophon in higher esteem than his fellows. Cic. represents him as stating that the necessaries of life, not their discoverers, were deified (*N.D.* 1. 42. 118). P reads *prodigus*, emend. by Rigaltius.

assumptos: sc. *eos*.

errando: ref. to Ceres, who in her wanderings in search of Proserpina taught Triptolemus of Eleusis the secret of raising barley (Ov. *M.* 5. 646).

Persaeus: native of Citium in Crete and disciple of Zeno. Cf. *Persaeus . . . eos dicit esse habitos deos, a quibus magna utilitas ad vitae cultum esset inventa, ipsasque res utiles et salutares deorum esse vocabulis nuncupatas* (Cic. *N.D.* 1. 15. 38); *id.*, *ibid.* 2. 60.

comicus sermo: Ter. *Eun.* 4. 5. 5, quoted by Cic. *ibid.* 2. 23.

§ 3. **Alexander . . . scripsit**: Athenagoras (*Suppl.* c. 28) and Augustine (*Civ. Dei*, 8. 5) refer to this letter of Alexander to his mother, Olympias. It is considered by later critics a forgery in favour of Christianity. Aug. gives the priest's name as Leo (*Civ. Dei*, 8. 5). Cf. Tat. *Ad Graec.* 27; Clem. Alex. *Strom.* 1. 106.

illic: Rigaltius for *illi* of P.

Vulcanum: the Ptah of Egypt. Cf. Diod. Sic. 1. 13.

omnium: the *dii homines*.

Iovis gentem: after these words P has the phrase *et despicio*, followed by chaps. 23 and 24 (*considera . . . requirentibus*). The confusion is due, probably, to a transposition of two leaves of the MS. The text is, with a slight alteration, that of Waltzing as suggested by Lindner.

§ 4. **enim**: elliptical (Gk. καὶ γάρ); "(it is so,) for"; "as a matter of fact"; cf. *nam*, 19. 3.

examinis: contemptuous; primarily "a swarm of bees," then "a crowd" or "shoal," e.g. *locustarum* (Livy 42. 10), *piscium* (Pliny, *N.H.* 31. 1. 1), *vernarum* (Hor. *Ep.* 2. 65), *Graium vatum* (Stat. *Silv.* 5. 3. 284).

scit, "is well aware of"; *scripsit* Schöne. The plur. *sciunt* would be more intelligible.

Nepos: Cornelius, a contemporary of Cicero, author of an Epitome of Universal History (*Chronica*); better known for his work *De Viris Illustribus.*

Cassius: L. Cassius Hemina, a Roman annalist of second century, wrote *Annales* embracing events from earliest times to end of third Punic War.

Thallus lived in the Augustan age, author of a history beginning with the sack of Troy.

Diodorus of Sicily, a contemporary of Augustus, author of the *Historical Library* (Βιβλιοθήκη Ἱστορική), being an historical survey from the earliest times down to Caesar's Gallic Wars.

Appeal is made to these four authors by Tert. (*Apol.* 10. 7; *Ad Nat.* 2. 2) and Lact. (*Div. Inst.* 1. 8-10. 13). Cf. Theoph. *Ad Autol.* 3. 29; Just. M. *Cohort.* 2.

§ 5. **Graeculus politus**: cf. *omnia novit Graeculus esuriens* (Juv. *S.* 3. 78).

§ 6. **latuisset . . . Latium**: cf.

Latiumque vocari
maluit, his quoniam latuisset tutus in oris.
(Verg. *A.* 8. 321.)

Saturniam condidit, etc.: cf.—

hanc Ianus pater, hanc Saturnus condidit arcem,
Ianiculum huic, illi fuerat Saturnia nomen.
(*id., ibid.* 357.)

Read. of P is *dedit*. Waltzing reads *indito* (Dombart).

§ 7. **homo . . . utique**: cf. Cic. *N.D* 3. 45; Tert. *Apol.* 10; Lact. *Div. Inst.* 1. 13. 10.

filius . . . proditus = *ut filius proditus est.*

in hodiernum, "to this day"; post-Aug., cf. *servatumque in hodiernum est* (Pliny, *N.H.* 33. 1. 7).

terrae filios: for *filii* "children" cf. Cic. *Att.* 1. 13. 4.

§ 8. **Cretae regnavit**: cf. 12. 5; *regnavit populorum* (Hor. *Od.* 3. 30. 2).

antrum Iovis: cf. Cic. *N.D.* 3. 53; Verg. *G.* 4. 152; Pausan. 8. 36.

humanitatis arguitur, "he is convicted of being a mere man."

§ 9. **primis parentibus**: Saturn and Jupiter.

nisi forte: 18. 5.

Proculo: Julius, a Roman senator; said to have informed the Romans, after the departure of Romulus, that the latter appeared to him bidding him tell the people to honour him as a god, under the name of Quirinus (Livy 1. 16).

Iuba: son of the king defeated at Thapsus 46 B.C., restored to Numidia after the Actian war and transferred to Mauretania by Augustus in 25 B.C. (Tac. *A.* 4. 5). Cf. Tert. *Apol.* 24; Lact. *Div. Inst.* 1. 15. 8.

divi . . . reges: at Rome a deceased emperor received divine honours under the title *divus.*

ad fidem: sc. *faciendam.* Introd. vi. C 20.

emeritae potestatis, "their service while in power." *Emeritus*: freq. applied to a soldier who has finished his period of service. For pass. use cf. *emeritis medii quoque temporis annis* (Ov. *M.* 15. 226).

§ 10. **in homine** = *in natura humana*; cf. *ut hominem exuat* (23. 7).

fieri deos: ref. to Vespasian who on the point of dying said *Vae, puto, deus fio* (Suet. *Vesp.* 23).

senes: as adj. qualifying subject of *nolunt.*

§ 11. **hodieque** = *hodie quoque,* as freq. in post-Aug. writers.

nisi forte: 18. 5.

§ 12. **creare possent**: P has *possint*; emend. by Gelenius. *Creare* for *procreare.* Introd. vi. A 5.

totis hominibus: mankind taken as a separate unit. *Omnes* implies totality in opposition to exceptions. Cf. καὶ πλείονες θεοὶ ὤφειλον εἶναι τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ὥς φησι Σίβυλλα (Theoph. *Ad Autol.* 2. 3); Tat. *Ad Graec.* 21; Athenag. *Suppl.* 18.

CHAPTER XXII

§ 1. **dubitat**: with accus. and infin., as freq. when neg. (here = *nemo dubitat*) in post-Aug. Lat.; cf. M. Cic. *Ep. ad Tiron.*, Cic. *Fam.* 16. 21. 2.

publice: 19. 5.

dum: 6. 2.

praestringitur . . . hebetatur, "dazzled . . . dulled" (Holden) Cf. Pliny, *N.H.* 7. 15. 13; 20. 6. 21. For similar argt. see Cic. *N.D.* 1. 77. Theoph. *Ad Autol.* 2. 2 says the artists will worship their own work when sold.

§ 2. **tormentis quibus**: cf. Tert. *Apol.* 12; Just. M. *Apol.* 1. 9; Clem. Alex. *Cohort.* 4.

illusam, etc.: these words have a *double entendre,* e.g. *illusam,* (1) "played upon," (2) "violated": *suspenditur,* (1) "is hanging" on a gibbet, (2) "is propped up" for the hewing and planing process; *caeditur,* (1) "is hewn," (2) "is scourged"; *dolatur,* (1) "is chipped" with an axe, (2) "is cudgelled"; *runcinatur,* (1) "is planed" (arch.), (2) "is taken in, cheated" (Plaut. *Mil.* 3. 3. 64).

§ 3. **infelicis stipitis**: a gibbet or gallows; cf. *arbor infelix* (Cic. *Rabir.* 4; Livy 1. 26. 7).

§ 4. **Aegyptio regi**: dat. of agent. Introd. vi. C 21. Herod.

(2. 172) relates of Amasis, king of Egypt 569 B.C., that, being little respected by his people on account of his humble origin, he had a golden basin, in which his courtiers used to wash their feet, converted into a statue of a god and set up in the market-place. The magnificence of the statue attracted numerous worshippers, and then the king announced its origin and claimed similar respect for his own person. Read. of P is *ut saepius factum.* Cf. *τί γὰρ δεῖ εἰδόσιν ὑμῖν λέγειν ἃ τὴν ὕλην οἱ τεχνῖται διατιθέασι ξέοντες καὶ τέμνοντες καὶ χωνεύοντες καὶ τύπτοντες; καὶ ἐξ ἀτίμων πολλάκις σκευῶν διὰ τέχνης τὸ σχῆμα μόνον ἀλλάξαντες καὶ μορφοποιήσαντες θεοὺς ἐπονομάζουσιν;* (Just. M. *Apol.* 1. 9); Athenag. *Supplic.* 26; Theoph. *Ad Autol.* 1. 10; Tert. *Apol.* 12. 2; Prudent. *Perist.* 10. 296.

impurato: cf. *ἀσελγεῖς* (Just. M. *Apol.* 1. 9); Cels. ap. Orig. 1. 20.

nativitatis iniuriam: cf. *sed plane non sentiunt has iniurias et contumelias suae fabricationis dei vestri, sicut nec obsequia* (Tert. *Apol.* 12. 6).

nec postea = *ne postea quidem.*

culturam, etc., "religious worship"; freq. in late Lat., cf. *cultura potentis amici* (Hor. *Ep.* 1. 18. 83). *De*: Introd. vi. C 48 e.

§ 5. **nisi forte**: 18. 5.

fabricatur, etc.: the form *fabrico* is poet. and post-Aug.; *plumbatur*, "soldered," arch. and post-Aug.

oratur: cf.—

> *qui fingit sacros auro vel marmore vultus,*
> *non facit ille deos; qui rogat, ille facit.*
> (Mart. 8. 24.)

voluit: sc. *deum esse.* Cf. Tert. *Apol.* 5.

§ 6. **quanta . . . versutia**: read. of P is *quanta vero*; Waltzing, *quanto verius* (Ursinus); Norden, *quanta vero sollertia.* The similarity to *vero* and the rareness of the word might account for the corruption of *versutia.*

rodunt: Wower for *norunt* of P.

§ 7. **et timetis**: 12. 4; 10. 3.

dum: 6. 2.

erroris accessio: cf. *Syphax . . . accessio Punici belli* (Livy 47. 7).

avaritia . . . consecrata: cf. Lact., *sub obtentu deorum avaritia et cupiditas colitur* (*Div. Inst.* 2. 6. 2).

consignata, "established," lit. "placed under seal."

§ 8. **quorum**: i.e. *Romanorum*, contained in *Romana*.

quam multa: inserted by Heumann; it gives chiastic arrangement, so much affected by Minucius.

nudi . . . discurrunt: the priests of Pan at feast of Lupercalia, 15th February; *festus ille impurorum sacrorum dies* (Cic. *Phil.* 2. 34). Cf. Ov. *F.* 2. 367.

cruda, "merciless." Poet.; cf. *ensis crudus* (Verg. *A.* 10. 682); *bella cruda* (Ov. *Am.* 3. 8. 88); almost = *crudelis*.

pilleati: the Salii, priests of Mars, who guarded the twelve sacred shields. They marched in procession in March and October, wearing conical caps (Livy 1. 20; Dionys. Halicarn. 2. 129).

mendicantes: the Galli or priests of Cybele, who begged from street to street, carrying an image of the goddess and beating drums (*pelles caedunt*). Cf. Tert. *Apol.* 42; Apul. *Met.* 8. 24.

vicatim: Gelenius for *vicantes* of P.

fana . . . visere: the temple of Ceres and Proserpine in Arcadia, and that of Cybele at Thebes might be visited once a year. The temple of Neptune at Mantineia was always closed (Pausan. *Arcad.* 31 and 5; *Boeot.* 25).

viro non licet: the festivals of Bona Dea, Ceres, and Vesta (Cic. *Harusp.* 17; Ov. *F.* 6. 478, 551 ff.; Juv. *S.* 6. 338). Cf. Lact. *Div. Inst.* 3. 20.

absque feminis: the feasts of Hercules (Gell. *N.A.* 11. 6).

servo: the feasts of Mater Matuta; cf. Livy 9. 29.

piaculare flagitium, "a sin requiring expiation"; here *piaculare* has a pass. signif.; cf. *piaculare auspicium*, an auspice that portended disaster and needed atonement (Paul. e Fest. Müll. 244); in *piaculare sacrificium*, "a sin offering," *piaculare* is act.

sacra . . univira: the statues (*sacra*, sacred objects) of Fortuna Muliebris and of Mater Matuta were crowned by a woman once married (Tert. *Monogam.* 17).

multivira: ἅπαξ εἰρημ.

plura . . . adulteria, "several marriages"; cf. 31. 5; Tert. *Exhort. Cast.* 9. Such were the feasts of Anaitis (sometimes identified with Artemis and sometimes with Aphrodite) in Armenia, Cappadocia, and other Eastern countries (Strabo 11; Paus. 3. 16; Eustath. ap. Dion. Periegetes, 846).

§ 9. **sanguine suo**: the priests of Cybele (*Galli*) and of Bellona (*Bellonarii*) inflicted wounds on their bodies. Cf. Tert. *Apol.* 25.

non = *nonne*; cf. Cic. *Verr.* 2. 4. 23.

profanus, "impious"; poet., 8. 3.

exta demessa: Gelenius proposes *testa*, taking *obscena* as subst.; cf. *Samia testa Galli . . . virilitatem amputare* (Pliny 35. 165).

male sanos: to be taken predicatively. In full the sent. would run: *male sanos . . . esse qui in ista desipiant.* Cf. Sen. *Superstit.* ap. Aug. *Civ. Dei*, 6. 10.

in ista: *in* with accus. denoting result of action of verb; cf. *denique in familiae luctum atque in privignorum funus nupsit* (Cic. *Clu.* 66. 188).

turbam . . . patrocinia: cf. *insanitatis patrocinium insanientium turba* (Sen. ap. Aug. *Civ. Dei*, 6. 10); *defendit numerus* (Juv. S. 2. 46).

§ 10. **et aspicis . . . tumulum:** in P this sentence occurs (*et despicis* P) after *Iovis gentem* c. 21. 3, and is followed by chaps. 23, 24. Waltzing considers this sent. an interpolation. Chap. 22 seems to be naturally ended at *multitudo*; but, on the other hand, there is a contrast drawn between the prescribed ritual (*ritus* 22. 8) of the various cults and the cults themselves (23. 1). The *sistrum*, scattered limbs, and empty tomb are the symbolic things connected with the worship of Isis, just as the barefooted priests with the worship of Pan, the Salii with that of Mars, or the Galli with that of Cybele. Hence, if this passage is genuine, its natural place is the section dealing with the *ritus.* Several edd. correct it and include it in c. 23. Vahlen reads *desipias* ("you may rave about") and inserts it after *sacra Romana* (23. 2); Ausserer, *et despice*, and inserts it after *miserorum deorum*; Schöne, *en aspice Isidis sacrorum ordinem: sistrum cietur ad inanem sui Serapidis sive Osiris tumulum* after *miserorum deorum.*

Isidis ad hirundinem, "Isis of the swallow form"; *ad* = Gk. κατά, "answering to the description of," e.g. κατὰ Μιθραδάτην (Herod. 1. 121): κατὰ πνιγέα (Ar. *Av.* 1001). Cf. *ad naves* (Lucr. 4. 897), "like ships" (read. rejected, however, by Munro in 3rd edit.). Plutarch speaks of the conversion of Isis into a swallow: αὐτὴν Ἶσιδα γενομένην χελιδόνα τῇ κίονι περιπέτεσθαι καὶ θρηνεῖν (*Isid. et Osir.* 357 C).

tui Serapidis: 2. 4.

CHAPTER XXIII

§ 1. **fata et funera,** "deaths and funerals." The ref. is to the worship of Isis, whose cult was introduced at Rome after the

third Punic War, banned and tolerated in turn, and officially recognised in 43 B.C. Isis was the sister and wife of Osiris or Serapis, the god of light, and mother of Horus, sister also of Nephtys and of Set or Typhon, the evil power of darkness. The myth was that Osiris had been rent in pieces by Set, and that Isis, his mourning wife, discovered his remains by the aid of Anubis (Cynocephalus ; cf. Verg. *A.* 8. 698 ; Ov. *M.* 9. 690) and his priests. The principal feast of Isis began on 28th October and lasted several days, the discovery of the body of Osiris on the third day being the occasion of general rejoicing. Cf. Juv. *S.* 8. 29 ; Apul. 11. 15 ; Sen. *Superst.* 35-36 ; Aug. *Civ. Dei*, 6. 10.

plangit, etc., "bewails" ; in this sense poetical and post-Aug. *Inquirit* for *quaerit.* Introd. vi. A 5.

Isiaci, etc. : cf. Athenag. *Suppl.* 14.

§ 2. **lugere quod colas** : cf. Clem. Alex. *Cohort.* 10.

nunc et sacra, etc. : 2. 5. The cult of Isis was officially recognised by the Roman State in 43 B.C. Cf. *Serapidi iam Romano . . . Baccho iam Italico* (Tert. *Apol.* 6. 10) ; *id.*, *Ad Nat.* 1. 10 ; Arnob. *Contra Gent.* 2. 73. *Et = etiam.*

§ 3. **Liberam** : an ancient Italian deity, confounded with Core or Proserpina (Cic. *N.D.* 2. 24. 62), who had been carried away by Pluto and sought for by her mother Ceres (Demeter) riding a chariot drawn by serpents and lighted with pine torches. Cf. *ad quos Ceres in illo errore pervenisse dicitur* (Cic. *Verr.* 2. 4. 49) ; Ov. *F.* 4. 491.

Eleusinia : a festival and mysteries celebrated at Eleusis in Attica in honour of Demeter and Persephone. The Lesser Eleus. were held annually in the month of February at Agrae, on the Ilissus, close to Athens. The Greater were celebrated every year during the nine days 15-23 September.

§ 4. **nutrix** : Amalthaea ; 21. 1. Cf. Tert. *Apol.* 25 ; Lact. *Div. Inst.* 1. 21.

Corybantum : the Curetes, rather, were the priests of the child Zeus in Crete, who drowned his cries by the music of their cymbals to prevent his detection by his father Cronus. They are often confounded with the Corybantes and the Idaean Dactyls.

tinnitus : Gelenius for *initus* of P. Cf. *tinnitusque cie et Matris quate cymbala circum* (Verg. *G.* 4. 64) ; Ov. *F.* 4. 210. *Initus =funditus* (Holden).

eliditur : cf. *sonum elidere* (Pliny, *N.H.* 11. 51. 112) ; Cels. 4. 4. 2.

§ 5. **Dindyma** : Dindymus, a mountain in Phrygia near Pessinus, was the chief seat of the worship of Cybele. Cf. Verg.

G. 1. 32; Lucan, *Phars.* 2. 240. *Dindymena*, the adj. form, is more prob.

adulterum: Attis; cf. Catull. *Carm.* 63; Ov. *F.* 4. 223; Aug. *Civ. Dei*, 6. 7.

Galli: priests of Cybele, so called, according to Ov., from a river Gallus in Galatia (Ov. *F.* 4. 364). *Et* = *etiam*, *quoque.*

§ 6. **dedecora**: Gelenius for *decora* of P. The description is after Cic. *N.D.* 1. 83; 3. 83. Cf. Clem. Alex. *Cohort.* 2; Arnob. *Adv. Nat.* 6. 21.

levis = *imberbis.*

caesiis, "cat-eyed." Gk. γλαυκῶπις. Cf. *glaucus* (Verg. *G.* 4. 451), as applied to Proteus, signifying green gleam of an angry cat.

compeditis: arch. and post-class.

et aversus: *et* = *etiam*, "also."

interim, "sometimes"; post-Aug. (Quint. 2. 1. 1).

mammis . . . uberibus: at Ephesus Diana was a goddess of fecundity. Read. of P is *veribus*, retained by Holden, interpreted as "iron rods by which the statue was fixed in its position and supported."

Trivia: in this aspect of her worship Diana was confounded with Hecate, whose statues stood at cross-roads, represented with three heads on one or three bodies and six hands. Cf. Hor. *Od.* 3. 22. 4; Verg. *A.* 4. 541.

horrifica: poet. and post-Aug.

§ 7. **imberbis**: cf. Pausan. *Eliac.* 1. 24; *Achaic.* 23.

Hammon . . . aditur: Jupiter Hammon, god of Thebes in Egypt, was represented as a ram with horns. Jupiter Capitolinus reigned in his temple on the Capitol, represented with a thunderbolt in his hand, as Jupiter Optimus Maximus. As Jupiter Latiaris he received sacrifice from all the Latin communities in his grove on the Alban Mount (*feriae Latinae*). Jupiter Feretrius on the Capitol was among the oldest in Rome. *Feretrius* fr. *ferire* "to strike" or sacrifice the victim which ratified the treaty or oath (*foedus ferire*). The stone (*lapis*, *silex*) used in formally striking the victim was kept in the temple. A later interpretation, however, which Minucius seems to follow here, is in connexion with the *spolia opima*, the armour taken from the vanquished foe when the commander-in-chief of the Roman army engaged and overthrew in single combat the commander-in-chief of the enemy. These spoils were dedicated to Jupiter Feretrius, and preserved in his temple (Livy 1. 10; 4. 20; Val. Max. 3. 2. 6). Hence Schöne admirably emends the text of P, *Feretrius non auditur*, reading

F. nisi cum spoliis non aditur. The similarity of ending of *Feretrius* and *spoliis* would account for a scribe's omission of the clause. He quotes Prop.: *nunc spolia in templo tria condita: causa Feretri omine quod certo dux ferit ense ducem* (4. 10). *Adire* is specially used of approaching the temples or altars of the gods as suppliant (Cic. *N.D.* 1. 27. 77; *Phil.* 14. 1; Tib. 1. 5. 39). Waltzing adopts *corona induitur* (Baehrens). Other emends. are: *opimis induitur, nomen auditur, non clauditur, donis additur.*

obeam: sc. *oratione.* Introd. vi. A 3. Cf. Clem. Alex. *Protrept.* 11. 28.

monstra, "monstrous representations."

quot: Halm for *quod* of P.

§ 8. **Erigone**, daughter of Icarius, hanged herself over her father's tomb. Cf. Tat. *Ad Graec.* 9.

Castores: cf. Pliny, *N.H.* 10. 43. 60; 35. 4. 10; *alter Castor* (Stat. *S.* 4. 6. 16). When Castor, son of a mortal sire, Tyndareus, was killed in combat, Pollux, his twin brother, obtained from his sire Jupiter the privilege of sharing his brother's fate and living alternately one day under the earth, the other in the abode of the gods (Pind. *Nem.* 10. 60; Hom. *Od.* 11. 331). Cf. Clem. Alex. *Cohort.* 2; Lact. *Div. Inst.* 1. 10. 5.

alternis: sc. *vicibus*; cf. *alternis dicetis* (Verg. *E.* 3. 59).

Aesculapius: shot by a thunderbolt of Zeus, who was jealous of his fame as a healer. Cf. Athenag. *Suppl.* 25; Tert. *Apol.* 14: Clem. Alex. *Protrept.* 30.

in deum: *in* marking the result of the action of the verb; cf. *portus ab Eureo fluctu curvatus in arcum* (Verg. *A.* 3. 533).

fulminatur: post-Aug. (Pliny, *N.H.* 2. 54. 55).

Hercules: maddened by the tortures of the garment given him by his wife Deianeira, H. cast himself into a pyre on Mount Oeta whence Zeus rescued him and made him immortal. Cf. Clem. Alex. *ibid.* 30.

hominem: 21. 10.

Aetnaeis: read. of P is *henneis.* Similarly in 35. 3 for *Aetnaeis.* Rigaltius corrects to *Oetaeis*; but prob. Minucius confounded the mountains.

CHAPTER XXIV

§ 1. **disciplinis,** "educational systems."

plurimum quantum: ellipt. for *tantum quantum plurimum est*; freq. in Sen., cf. *nimium quantum* (Cic. *Fin.* 4. 25. 70).

ipsi sua auctoritate, "by sheer force of their influence." Cf. Cic., *nec . . . multo absurdiora sunt ea, quae poetarum vocibus fusa, ipsa suavitate nocuerunt* (*N.D.* 1. 16).

§ 2. **Plato . . . Homerum**: Plato, *Rep.* 398 A says that in the event of Homer's visiting their ideal state with his works, they would do reverence to him ὡς ἱερὸν καὶ θαυμαστὸν καὶ ἡδύν, but would remind him that no such man might live in their state and would send him away loaded with gifts (μύρον κατὰ τῆς κεφαλῆς καταχέαντες καὶ ἐρίῳ στέψαντες). *Praeclare*, etc., "acted excellently in expelling"; cf. 29. 5. Cf. εὐλόγως ἐκβάλλει τὸν Ὅμηρον (Orig. *Contra Cels.* 4. 36).

sermone, "dialogue."

§ 3. **ludos facit,** "he is making sport," i.e. writing fiction; not in the sense of ridiculing the gods. *Ludi* also means "stage-plays." Cf. *figmenta in dulcedine carminis lusa* (11. 9). With this section cf. Cic. *N.D.* 1. 30; *Div.* 2. 10; *Tusc.* 1. 26; Tert. *Apol.* 14.

paria: i.e. matched as gladiators; see Hom. *Il.* 5. 66; cf. Tert. *Apol.* 14. 2.

Venerem: Hom. *Il.* 5. 330.

Martem: *id.*, *ibid.* 5. 385, 855.

§ 4. **Briareo**: *id.*, *ibid.* 1. 396; dat. of agent.

Sarpedonem . . . flevisse: Zeus, mourning for his son Sarpedon, whose doom at the hands of Patroclus was near, sent down a shower of bloody rain-drops (*id.*, *ibid.* 16. 459). Read. of P is *flevit*; emend. by Gelenius. Waltzing reads *flere* (Winterfield) for sake of metr. ending (cretic and trochee).

loro: Heraldus for *thoro* of P. Cf. Mart. 6. 21. 9. See Hom. *Il.* 14. 311. For the same instances cf. Athenag. *Suppl.* 21; Athanas. *Ad Graec.* 12; Just. M. *Cohort.* 2; Clem. Alex. *Cohort.* 2. 36.

§ 5. **alibi,** "in another place"; ref. to the story (not found in Hom.) of Hercules cleansing the stables of Augeas, King of Elis (Ov. *M.* 9. 187; 2. 680; 11. 203).

Apollo, etc.: Hom. *Il.* 2. 765. Cf. Athenag. *Suppl.* 21; Tat. *Ad Graec.* 21; Tert. *Apol.* 14.

Laomedonti: Hom. *ibid.* 21. 443. Cf. Tert. *Apol.* 14; Arnob. *Ad. Nat.* 4. 25.

accepit: the change to the perf. tense is prob. for the sake of the metr. ending (cretic and trochee).

§ 6. **illic,** "there," i.e. Verg. *A.* 8. 423. Vulcan and the Cyclopes are the forgers of the armour.

fabricatur: 22. 5.

§ 7. **quid loquar**: foll. by accus.; 5. 10.

Martis . . . Veneris: Hom. *Od.* 8. 266 ff.; Ov. *M.* 4. 171 ff. Cf. Clem. Alex. *Ad Gent.* 2; Arnob. *Ad. Nat.* 4. 25.

Ganymeden: Hom. *ibid.* 20. 231 ff.; Ov. *ibid.* 10. 155 ff.

caelo: 18. 4.

vitiis: written in P *ui||tiis*. Probably *iudiciis* (Rigaltius) is the orig. reading. Minucius may have had in mind the "decision" of the poet in the verse of Ov. quoted below, *cur mihi*, etc. Cf. *nihil putas valere in iudiciis civitatum auctoritates ac litteras* (Cic. *Verr.* 2. 3. 62).

auctoritas, "warrant." Cf. *quod decuit divos, cur mihi turpe putem?* (Ov. *Am.* 2. 18. 14).

§ 8. **adusque**: poet. and post-Aug.

summae aetatis, "full manhood"; cf. *summa hiems* "the depth of winter" (Cic. *Verr.* 2. 4. 40).

CHAPTER XXV

§ 1. **at tamen**, "but, after all"; i.e. notwithstanding all the shortcomings enumerated. This is the claim of Caecilius (6. 2). Cf. *hi secretis sermonibus conveniunt . . . at tamen interfuere quidam . . .* (Tac. *H.* 4. 55).

nimirum: ironical; 11. 9. Cf. Tert. *Apol.* 25.

auspicata est, "began."

§ 2. **immanitatis**: subj. gen.

asylo: to attract a population to the newly-founded city Romulus declared the region between the two summits of the Capitoline hill a place of refuge where criminals from other States were immune from prosecution (ἄσυλον) (Livy 1. 8; Ov. *F.* 3. 429; Dionys. 2. 15). Abl. of means. Cf. Aug. *Civ. Dei*, 3. 6.

parricidium, here "fratricide," denotes any unnatural crime; in Cic. freq. "high treason" (crime against one's *patria*).

auspicia, "beginnings"; cf. § 1 supra.

§ 3. **desponsatas** = *desponsas*; Introd. vi. A 6. Post-Aug.; ref. to rape of Sabine women (Ov. *F.* 3. 199). Cf. *desponsam iam et destinatam laudem* (Cic. *Har.* 3. 6).

de matrimonio: Introd. vi. C 48.

sine more, "unrighteously"; cf. *raptas sine more Sabinas* (Verg. *A.* 8. 635).

illusit, "outraged"; poet. and post-Aug. in this sense, cf. 22. 10.

confidentia, "audacity"; abl. of cause.

§ 4. **cogere,** "to drive."

postremis ducibus: meant, prob., to include republican and imperial leaders. Waltzing reads *posteris* (Davies): Schöne, *postea strenuis*.

disciplina, "policy."

§ 5. **de manubiis**: sc. *facta sunt*. *Manubiae* signif. money obtained from the sale of booty (*praeda*); part of this money was allocated to the *aerarium*, part to the soldiers and the remainder to the general. The general usually expended his portion on public buildings. Cf. *(Tullus) saepsit de manubiis comitium et curiam* (Cic. *Rep.* 2. 17. 31).

§ 6. **hoc**: i.e. *servire . . . adorare.*

illudere, "to mock at."

adorare: 6. 1.

manu, "by force"; cf. *manu capere urbes* (Sall. *Iug.* 5. 5).

Romanis: dat. of agent; 19. 6.

spolia: sc. *rapta sunt.*

de gentibus . . . tropaea: sc. *posita sunt.* Cf. *tropaea Cai Mari de Iugurtha* (Suet. *Caes.* 11). *Et* = *etiam* in correl. clause should follow *quot*; cf. 23. 2. Introd. vi. C 39.

§ 7. **arma rapuerunt**: cf. Verg. *A.* 7. 340; *arma arripere* (Livy 35. 36).

at quos: *et quos* P.

prostraverant: Dombart for *postulaverant* of P.

detriumphatos: neolog., on analogy of *debellare*, *devincere.* Introd. vi. A 2. *Triumphare* is trans. only in poetry and post-Aug. prose. Cf. *bisque triumphatas gentes* (Verg. *G.* 3. 33); Tert. *Apol.* 27.

§ 8. **enim**: ellipt.; 20. 3. The sense is: "nor is your greatness due to your native gods, for . . ."

vernaculos = *indigetes*; the term is depreciatory, being generally used in connexion with slaves. This passage is taken from Sen. *Superstit.*, *Frag.* 33; cf. Aug. *Civ. Dei*, 6. 10; 4. 23.

Picus, etc.: Picus, Consus and Pilumnus were deities of agriculture; Tiberinus, the river god; Volumnus and Pilumnus were patrons of new-born children (Aug. *Civ. Dei*, 6. 9; 4. 21). Cloacina was said to have been discovered by Tatius in the *cloaca maxima* (Lact. *Div. Inst.* 1. 20). Pavor and Pallor were vowed temples by Tullus Hostilius in a moment of terror in the war against Veii (Livy 1. 27). Febris had a sanctuary on the Palatine (Cic. *N.D.* 3. 63). Cf. Tert. *Spectac.* 5; Arnob. *Ad. Nat.* 3. 23.

alumna, "foster-mother"; the city was nurtured by disease

and infirmity. In this act. signif. post-Aug. ; cf. *et qui alit et alitur alumnus dici potest* (Isid. *Orig.* 10. 1). Cf. Clem. Alex. *Cohort.* 4 ; Lact. *Div. Inst.* 1. 20.

sane : ironical, "of course."

Acca . . . Flora : according to some versions of the legend, Acca Larentia and Flora were prostitutes who left their gains to the Roman people, their memory being consecrated in the feasts of the Larentalia and Floralia (Ov. *F.* 3. 57 ; Gell. *N.A.* 7. 7 ; Lact. *Fals. Relig.* 1. 20). Cf. Tert. *Apol.* 13 ; Aug. *Civ. Dei*, 6. 7.

propudiosae : arch. and post-class.

§ 9. **eos** : the Romans ; *suos*, the worshippers of Thracian Mars, etc.

vel Diana : Gelenius for *nunc Diana* of P.

portenta : cf. Cic. *N.D.* 1. 43 ; Juv. *S.* 15. 1.

§ 10. **nisi forte** : 18. 5.

paene in pluribus : there are recorded cases of convicted guilt, but this seems to be an overstatement (Herod. 4. 11 ; Pliny, *Ep.* 4. 11 ; Suet. *Domit.* 8. 8).

residuis = *reliquis* ; cf. *residui nobilium* (Tac. *A.* 11. 23).

tutior, "more carefully guarded" ; cf. *tutis auribus* (Hor. *Od.* 1. 27. 18).

§ 11. **magis . . . quam** : Waltzing reads *quam* immediately after *magis* (Hermann).

conducuntur : denoting a regular traffic in debauchery. Cf. Suet. *Tib.* 44 ; Ov. *Ars Am.* 1. 3 ; Juv. *S.* 6. 488 ; 9. 24 ; Tert. *Apol.* 15 (see Mayor's note) ; Joseph. *Antiq.* 18. 3. 4 ; Herod. 2. 64 ; Propert. 2. 33.

meditantur : as pass., post-class. and rare. *Meditatus* as p. part. is class.

defungitur : used absolutely ; cf. *adversus illos mercede defungor* where *mercede* = "by payment" (Sen. *Ben.* 6. 61. 1). Tr. "operates."

§ 12. **tamen**, "after all."

Arvales : the Arval brothers, twelve in number, established by Romulus, worshipped the *Dea Dia*, supposed to be identical with Ceres (Gell. 6. 7).

reclusos, "shut off"; post-Aug. in this sense. Introd. vi. A 5.

cibo . . . fastidio, "(taking) food or refusing it."

res . . . summa, "supreme interests of State."

CHAPTER XXVI

§ 1. **iam enim** : denoting transition. *Iam vero* is common in Cic. (*Tusc.* 5. 38. 110).

auspicia : fr. *aves*, **specio* ; *auguria*, fr. *aves*, *garrire* or perhaps **gurere*, **gusere* (cf. *gustus*).

paenitenter omissa : sc. *esse*, "that their neglect was attended by sorrow." *Paenitenter*, ἅπαξ εἰρημ. Introd. vi. A 2.

§ 2. **exercitus** : 7. 4. Cf. Cic. *N.D.* 2. 7 ; 3. 80.

solistimum : when the chickens leaped with eagerness to their food, it was a good omen (*tripudium : terra, pes*) ; it was a completely good omen (*solistimum*, superl. of *sollus*, Gk. ὅλος) when particles fell from their beaks in the eating (Cic. *Div.* 1. 15. 28). P has *solemnissimum* ; emend. by Gelenius.

§ 3. **Regulus** : 12. 2.

Mancinus : C. Hostilius, cons. in Numantine war 137 B.C. ; his army was defeated, and a treaty having been made, was passed under the yoke. The senate refused to ratify the treaty and handed over the cons. to the Numantines (Val. Max. 1. 67 ; Flor. 2. 18). Cf. Aug. *Civ. Dei*, 3. 21.

maiore parte : the Romans lost between 40,000 and 50,000 men, including a great number of wealthy knights. Cf. Cic. *Div.* 2. 33 ; Livy 22. 47.

§ 4. **Gaius** : C. Julius Caesar, the dictator ; in Dec. 47 B.C. he crossed from Sicily to Africa to prosecute the war against the Pompeians. Cf. Cic. *Div.* 2. 24.

ne : with *renitentibus*.

sprevit : without an object. Introd. vi. A 3 ; cf. *nec partem solido demere de die sprevit* (Hor. *Od.* 1. 1. 21). Here, however, *demere* may be regarded as a subst.

§ 5. **Amphiaraus** : joint king of Argos with Adrastus, whose daughter Eriphyle he married. Foreseeing his death if he took part in the campaign against Thebes, he concealed himself, but his wife revealed his hiding-place to Polynices in return for a necklace. Amphiaraus perished in the attack and was afterwards worshipped as a prophet-god at Oropus. Cf. Cic. *N.D.* 2. 7 ; Soph. *Electra*, 840.

Tiresias, the most famous seer of antiquity, was blind from the age of seven.

§ 6. **Pyrrhus**, king of Epirus, defeated the Romans at Heraclea and Asculum, was defeated at Beneventum 275 B.C. The oracle in

question is *Aio te, Aiacida, Romanos vincere posse.* Minucius here is following Cic. *Div.* 2. 116. Cf. Tert. *Apol.* 22. 10; *Ad Nat.* 2. 17.

Pythi: Introd. vi. B 1.

Demosthenes: cf. *Demosthenes quidem, . . . iam tunc φιλιππίζειν Pythiam dicebat, id est quasi cum Philippo facere* (Cic. *ibid.* 2. 57. 118).

quod sciret: subj. by attraction.

§ 7. **at . . . tamen**: 25. 1.

quamquam: with subj.; 5. 1. Introd. vi. C 35.

industriam, "design." Cf. *potest igitur . . . veritatem casus imitari* (Cic. *Div.* 2. 21. 49).

aggrediar: with infin.; cf. *de quibus dicere aggrediar* (*id.*, *Off.* 2. 1).

fontem . . . unde omnis: cf. Cic. *Fin.* 1. 32; Verg. *G.* 4. 285 (*altius . . . expediam, prima repetens ab origine*).

§ 8. **insinceri**, "impure"; poet. (Verg. *G.* 4. 285) and post-Aug. (Gell. *N.A.* 5. 3. 7). Cf. Tert. *Apol.* 22; Lact. *Div. Inst.* 2. 15; Tat. *Ad Graec.* 16; Aug. *Civ. Dei*, 2. 23.

caelesti vigore: cf. Verg. *A.* 6. 730-732, 744-746.

labibus, "stains." Gk. λώβη.

substantiae: post-Aug.

ad solacium: Introd. vi. C 20. Cf. Tat. *Ad Graec.* 29; Tert. *Apol.* 22.

vitiis: dat. after *immersi*, can be taken as abl. with *onusti.* Cf. 7. 6; 9. 3.

perditi, etc.: note paronomasia and alliteration. Introd. vi. D.

§ 9. **poetae**: e.g. Hes. *Works and Days*, 122. Cf. Lact. *Div. Inst.* 2. 14.

petebat: according to Plato (*Apol.* 19) the Socratic daemon's function consisted in dissuading from, not exhorting to an action (ἀεὶ ἀποτρέπει . . . προτρέπει δ' οὔποτε). Cf. Cic. *Div.* 1. 122. Xenophon, however, favours the view here expressed (*Mem.* 1. 4. 15). Cic. has *appetuntur . . . declinantur* (*N.D.* 3. 33). For use of simples for compounds see Introd. vi. A 5.

§ 10. **Magi**: Persian priests who were also prophets. Spirits are a feature of the Persian religion, the good spirits attending on the principle of light or good (Ormuzd) and the evil spirits ministering to the principle of darkness or evil (Ahriman).

sciunt = *cognoscunt*; cf. for this use Lamprid. *Alex.* 45. 3.

miraculi: cf. Plato, *Sympos.* 202 E; Apul. *De Deo Socr.* 6; Tert. *Apol.* 22.

aspirantibus . . . infundentibus, "by their inspiration and ministration." *Aspirare*, in this sense, is poet. and post-Aug. ; *infundere* is trans. in class. Lat. Introd. vi. A 3.

videri . . . non videri : infins. corresponding to the Gk. infin. with ὥστε where class. Lat. requires *ut* with subj. ; they may also be taken as substantival infins. in appos. to *praestigias*. Cf. *quaerunt pars aditum et . . . ascendere* (Verg. *A*. 9. 507) ; Hor. *Od.* 1. 1. 21 (quot. 26. 4).

§ 11. **eloquio . . . negotio,** "in theoretical and practical skill" (Holden) ; cf. δύνατος ἐν ἔργῳ καὶ λόγῳ (St. Luke, *Evang.* 24. 19).

Hostanes : the most famous of the Magi ; he accompanied Xerxes in his campaigns against Greece (Apul. *De Mag.* 90 ; Pliny, *N.H.* 30. 1 ; Tatian, *Ad Graec.* 17).

sedem tueri : Hertel for *sed et veri* of P.

venerationi assistere, "stand by to worship" ; dat. of purpose ; cf. *laudi* 14. 2.

nutu . . . contremescant : cf. *totum nutu tremefecit Olympum* (Verg. *A*. 10. 115).

humanitatis : 8. 2.

§ 12. **negotium,** "a difficult matter."

angelos : Plato does not use the word ἄγγελος ; he speaks of daemons as plying to and fro between men and the gods with prayers and responses (*Sympos.* 202 D). Cf. Apuleius, *divinae mediae potestates . . . per quas et desideria nostra et merita ad deos commeant, inter homines caelicolasque vectores hinc precum inde donorum* (*De Deo Socr.* 6).

substantiam . . . mediam : 26. 8. Cf. πᾶν τὸ δαιμόνιον μέταξύ ἐστι θεοῦ τε καὶ θνητοῦ (Plato, *Sympos.* 202 E).

ex qua, etc. : the reading of P is : *ex qua monet etiam nos procupidinem amoris et dicit in formari et labi.* Plato (*Sympos.* 203 A) gives a clue to the solution of this corrupt passage : οὗτοι δὴ οἱ δαίμονες πολλοί τε καὶ παντοδαποί εἰσιν, εἷς δὲ τούτων ἐστὶ καὶ ὁ Ἔρως. Cf. 195 E, 196 A. *Procupidinem* of the MS., a word found no place else, was prob. a marginal gloss explanatory of an orig. *daemonem amoris* (*pro* ("instead of") *cupidinem*). A careless scribe might have been misled by the similarity between *daemonem* and the ending of *cupidinem* to insert the marg. gloss as one word, taking it to be the original form. *Esse* after *amoris* may have easily dropped out. **labi pectoribus :** local abl. without prep., see Introd. vi. C 26. Cf. *ille inter vestes et levia pectora lapsus* (Verg. *A*. 7. 349). Waltzing reads : *ex qua*

monet etiam nos amorem informari (Sauppe) *et inlabi* (Gelenius). Schöne reads: *ex qua materia etiam Eros formatus sit, quem dicit inlabi.*

CHAPTER XXVII

§ 1. **magis . . . Platone:** I have retained the read. of P. In c. 26. 9-10, the testimony of poets, philosophers (with special mention of Socrates) and *magi* was claimed for the view that these spirits were demons, i.e. evil spirits (cf. Lact. *Div. Inst.* 2. 14; Tert. *Apol.* 22). Octavius here emphasises the testimony of philosophers, Plato especially (*et = etiam*). *Ut ostensum magis*, "as has been well shown," i.e. with greater truth as coming from philosophers; *magis* is used absolutely. Cf. *tum magis id diceres, si*, "you might well say that if . . ." (Cic. *Amicit.* 11). Waltzing reads *magis ac philosophis* (dats. of agent), omitting *et a Platone* as a gloss (Dombart). Cf. Euseb. *Praep. Evang.* 5. 2. 1; Athenag. *Suppl.* 27.

afflatu, "inspiration"; cf. Cic. *N.D.* 2. 66.

inspirant, "inspire"; poet. and post-Aug.; cf. *aspirantibus* (26. 10). *Vatibus*: dat.; cf. *adspirate canenti* (Verg. *A.* 9. 525). *Inspirantur* P. Cf. *Hi afflatu suo vatum pectora inspirant* (Cypr. *Idol. Van.* 7).

interim, "sometimes"; 19. 11.

extorum: the duty of examining entrails (*extispicium*) devolved on the *haruspices* (Cic. *Div.* 2. 11). Cf. Lact. *Div. Inst.* 2. 16. 1.

sortes, "lots." The drawing of lots from an urn, each bearing an inscription, was a method of divination much in vogue, especially at Antium, Caere, Falerii, Praeneste (Cic. *Div.* 2. 41; Livy 22. 1).

falsis pluribus, "falsehood for the greater part"; *falsum* as subst. Cf. Lact. *Div. Inst.* 2. 16. 13; Tert. *Apol.* 22.

§ 2. **in perditionem:** *in* with accus. denoting result of action of verb; *perditio* is post-Aug.

a caelo . . . gravant: cf. Tat. *Ad Graec.* 16.

materias, "material things."

somnos: Ursinus for *omnes* of P. Cf. Apul., *vel somniis conformandis, vel extis fissiculandis . . . vel vatibus inspirandis* (*De Deo Socr.* 6); Lact. *Div. Inst.* 2. 15; Tert. *Apol.* 23; Tat. *Ad Graec.* 18; Just. M. *Apol.* 1. 14; 2. 6; Athenag. *Suppl.* 27.

altarium: the *altare* (post-class. in sing.) was according to Servius a superstructure placed upon the *ara* for sacrificial purposes (Verg. *E.* 5. 66).

pecudum: explan. gen. Cf. Athenag. *Suppl.* 23; Just. M. *Apol.* 2. 5; Tat. *Ad Graec.* 12.

remissis . . . videantur: the bonds are the counterfeit diseases, etc.; the cure is merely a cessation of interference on the part of the demons. Cf. Tert. *Apol.* 22; Lact. *Div. Inst.* 2. 14. 13; Just. M. *Apol.* 2. 5.

§ 3. **hinc** = *ex his.* Davies for *hi* of P; cf. *de ipsis* infra.

et furentes = *etiam f.*, e.g. the Galli, priests of Cybele; cf. 22. 9; Apul. *Metam.* 8. 27; Sen. *Vit. Beat.* 26. 8.

vates . . . absque templo, "prophets they also without a temple," i.e. as opposed to the prophets mentioned above, § 1. *Absque*: 12. 5.

bacchantur . . . rotantur: cf. Verg. *A.* 6. 77; Arnob. *Adv. Nat.* 1. 19. *Rotantur* has middle force: cf. *ut colla rotat . . . bacchatur* (Stat. *Silv.* 3). Cf. Lucan, *Phars.* 5. 172.

instigatio: post-Aug.; = class. *stimulus*; found in the jurists (*Dig.* 5. 2. 4).

argumentum dispar, etc., "the drift of their madness is different," i.e. the Galli, who are referred to, indulge in wild, enthusiastic conduct like the prophets under the influence of inspiration in the temples; and inasmuch as their movements resemble those of the regular prophets, they too can be styled such (*vates et ipsi*), but the result or tendency of their madness is not prophecy but self-mutilation (24. 6). Cf. Propert. 2. 18. 15. *Argumentum*: cf. Cic., *tabulae novae, quid habent argumenti, nisi ut . . .* (*Off.* 2. 23. 84).

§ 4. **paulo ante:** c. 7. 3.

repeteret: *repetere* in jurid. lang., to demand back something unjustly taken away: here, of the games which were invalid (7. 3).

ex somnio, "during a dream"; cf. *ex itinere*, "during a journey" (Cic. *Fam.* 3. 9); *ex fuga*, "during the flight" (Caes. *B.G.* 6. 35. 6).

§ 5. **verborum . . . orationis:** explan. gens. Cf. *quorum verbis velut flagris verberati . . . quorum voce torquentur* (Lact. *De Orig. Err.* 15. 3); Cypr. *Ad Demetr.* 8; Tert. *Apol.* 23; Just. M. *Apol.* 2. 6; *Dial.* 30; Theoph. *Ad Autol.* 2. 8; Tat. *Ad Graec.* 16.

§ 6. **quod sunt eloquuntur,** "reveal their identity"; e.g. St. Mark 1. 24; St. Luke 4. 34.

in turpitudinem: 27. 2. Cf. *nemo ad suum dedecus mentitur* (Tert. *ibid.* 23).

§ 7. **esse eos:** with *credite.*

corporibus inhorrescunt: cf. *daemonia contremiscunt* (St.

James, *Ep.* 2. 19); St. Luke 9. 39; St. Mark 9. 26. *Corporibus*: *in* omitted (18. 4).

fides: in Christ. sense; cf. *gratia.* Introd. vi. A 3.

curantis: God.

aspirat, "assists"; poet.; cf. *di coeptis adspirate meis* (Ov. *M.* 1. 3); used absol. *Auct. ad Her.* 4. 34.

fugitant: mostly ante-class. *De proximo*: opposed to *longe*; cf. *aquam hinc de proximo rogabo* (Plaut. *Rud.* 2. 3. 73). Cf. Tert. *Apol.* 27 (*de longinquo . . . de proximo*).

coetibus: Christian assemblies; cf. Pliny, *Ep.* 10. 96; *in ipsis plurimum coetibus et congregationibus nostris opprimimur* (Tert. *Apol.* 7. 4); Lact. *Div. Inst.* 4. 27. 8.

§ 8. **odisse . . . infestare**: cf. *quem metuunt oderunt; quem quisque odit periisse expedit* (Enn. ap. Cic. *Off.* 2. 7. 23). *Infestare*: post-Aug. Cf. Tert. *Apol.* 1.

CHAPTER XXVIII

§ 1. **incognitis . . . inexploratis**: ablats. of attendant circumstances. *Inexploratus* is not found in Cic. or Caes., but the form *inexplorato* is freq. in Livy.

§ 2. **et nos, etc.** = *etiam nos.* *Idem*: neut. sing.; cf. *non quo idem sit servulus quod familia* (Cic. *Caecin.* 20. 58).

adhuc: referring to a point of time past.

ab his: the demons.

ventilari, "circulated"; Introd. vi. A 3.

proderet: sc. *rem.* Cf. *obtinuit* (*causam*), 40. 3.

indicii gratiam, "a recompense for his information."

consecuturum, "although he would obtain." Fut. part. denoting result; cf. Tac. *A.* 4. 38. 2. Cf. Athenagoras, *Suppl.* 35. Eusebius, on the other hand, gives instances of confessions made at Lyons by Christians under torture (*Hist. Eccl.* 5. 1. 14), and Justin Martyr speaks of similar confessions wrenched by the torture from slaves, women, and children (*Apol.* 2. 12).

malum . . . esse, "so far from there being crime." For *malum* "wrong-doing," "crime" cf. Verg. *A.* 6. 527; Sen. *De Ira*, 1. 16. 3. Cf. Tert. *Apol.* 1.

unum . . . paeniteret: pers. constr.; cf. *sapientis est nihil quod paenitere possit, facere* (Cic. *Tusc.* 5. 28. 81). *Solummodo*: post-Aug.; 18. 3.

§ 3. **nos**: Octavius and Minucius, who were lawyers.

suscipiebamus: especially of undertaking voluntary action;

8. 3; cf. Cic. *Rep.* 4. 8. 27; 1. 6. 10. *Tuendos* in pass. signif. arch. (Varr.) and post-Aug.

hos: the Christians.

nec = *ne . . . quidem*; 11. 5.

in totum = *omnino*; post-Aug.

miserantes with gen. is poet.

torqueremus . . . negandum: cf. Pliny, *Ep. ad Traian.* 96, 97; Just. M. *Apol.* 1. 4; Tert. *Apol.* 2; *Ad Scap.* 4.

perversam quaestionem, "preposterous examination." The accused was charged with being a Christian. The object of torture in every other case was to make the defendant admit the charge, here to deny it. *Perversa*, lit. "turned the wrong way." Cf. *ceteris negantibus tormenta adhibetis ad confitendum, solis Christianis ad negandum* (Tert. *Apol.* 6. 2).

§ 4. **si qui . . . negasset** = *si quis n.* (cf. Cic. *Par.* 1). The subjunct. of cases freq. occurring is rarely found in Cic., Caes., or Sall., but freq. in Livy and later writers. Introd. vi. C 37.

malo, "misfortune."

favebamus: Lact. relates that he had seen a governor of Bithynia as triumphant as if he had conquered a barbarous tribe, because an accused Christian after two days of courageous struggle had finally abjured Christianity (*Div. Inst.* 5. 15).

§ 5. **instigatio**: 27. 3.

essent: inserted by Cellarius.

impiatis, "defiled with sin"; arch. and post-class.

§ 6. **exsecrationis horrorem** = *horrorem et exsecrationem*; gen. of species.

insparsis: cf. Pliny, *N.H.* 18. 11. 29; *inspersis* class.

si et negotium: read. of P is *sic est.* Octavius says that in every case (*omnium*) a reputation which is kept alive on falsehood perishes before the light of truth; and no wonder if such too will be the case with the demons' work (*negotium*) of slander. Sc. *consumetur.* The clause *ab ipsis enim . . .* merely explains *negotium daemonum.* Waltzing reads *sit et negotium.* Schöne, *ostensa veritate non omni ex parte consumitur; fit scilicet per negotium daemonum.* Cf. *negotio perambulante in tenebris* (*Ps.* 90. 6).

§ 7. **inde**: from the demons.

caput asini: 9. 3. Cf. Tert. *Apol.* 16 (see Mayor's n.); Joseph. *Contra Ap.* 2. 9; Tac. *H.* 5. 3 and 4; Diod. Sic. 34. 1. 3.

totos: i.e. not merely the head.

vel, "for instance"; freq. in Ter. Cf. Cic., *cuius innumerabilia sunt exempla vel Appii maioris illius* (*De Or.* 2. 70).

Epona: a goddess of probably Gallic origin, worshipped as the guardian of horses, mules, and asses. She is generally represented in art surrounded by these animals, caressing or mounted on one of them. Cf. Tert. *Apol.* 16. 5 ; *Ad Nat.* 1. 11 ; Juv. *S.* 8. 157 ; Apul. *Metam.* 3. 23.

cum Iside . . . devoratis: according to Plutarch (*Is. et Osir.* 30) the Egyptians were accustomed at the feasts of Isis to eat cakes with the figure of an ass, symbol of Typhon, imprinted on them. The offerings were made to Isis, and her worshippers joined her (*cum*) in eating of them.

boum . . . vervecum: the cow was sacred to Isis, the bull to Apis and the ram to Hammon (Herod. 2. 41).

et . . . et: 12. 3.

capro . . . mixtos: Pan and the Satyrs. Cf. Herod. 2. 46.

leonum . . . vultu: sc. *mixtos.* Anubis was represented in art with a dog's or jackal's head (23. 1) ; Osiris, under the title Frugifer, was represented with the face of a lion. Cf. Tert. *Apol.* 16. 3 ; Arnob. 6. 10 ; Juv. *S.* 15. 8.

§ 8. **Apin**: the sacred bull kept at Memphis, supposed to be the incarnation of Osiris. The animal's birthday was kept annually as a great festival. Twenty-five years was the limit of the bull's life. If not carried away by a natural death before this age he was killed and embalmed and buried with royal state. There is no evidence that he was eaten (*pascitis*) (Plut. *Is. et Osir.* 20. 29 ; Herod. 3. 28 ; Cic. *N.D.* 1. 82 ; 3. 39 and 47 ; Pliny, *N.H.* 8. 184). Greek accus. ; Introd. vi. B 2.

sacra . . . serpentibus, cf. Cic. *N.D.* 1. 36 ; 1. 82 ; Herod. 2. 65-72 ; Juv. *S.* 15. 7.

§ 9. **vobis**: Ursinus for *vobiscum* of P.

ceparum: cf.—

> *porrum et caepe nefas violare et frangere morsu,*
> *o sanctas gentes, quibus haec nascuntur in hortis*
> *numina*

(Juv. *S.* 15. 9) ; Pliny, *N.H.* 2. 7. 16 ; Gell. *N.A.* 20. 8.

strepitus: cf. Hor. *S.* 1. 8. 47 ; Mart. 10. 14. 10.

§ 10. **istae**: emend. of Koch for *ista* of P.

sexus omnis . . . prostat: cf. Sen. *Benef.* 3. 20 ; *Quaest. Nat.* 1. 16 ; St. Paul, *Rom.* 1. 26.

scortorum licentiae: cf. Suet. *Tib.* 35.

malae linguae: cf. Suet. *Tib.* 44. 45.

§ 11. **cogi . . . servitus**: sc. *ad patiendum.* Ref. is to a rescript of Antoninus Pius, Ulp. *Dig.* leg. 2.

CHAPTER XXIX

§ 1. **nec audire** = *ne audire quidem.* Cf. *nec nominetur in vobis* (St. Paul, *Ephes.* 5. 3).

pluribus, etc.: sc. *verbis. Defendere,* "defend (ourselves) against."

de vobis, etc., "by your own conduct." *De* denoting the source of the proof. Introd. vi. C 48. *Probaretis,* sc. *ea.* Introd. vi. C 8.

§ 2. **nam**: 19. 13.

vicinia: cf. Cic. *Tusc.* 1. 16. 37; mostly arch. and post-Aug.; *vicinitas,* the reg. class. word.

deum credi: sc. *esse*; for infin. after *merere* see 6. 1.

noxium . . . terrenum: sc. *hominem*; subjs. of infins.

§ 3. **ne**, "truly"; Gk. *ναί.*

in homine mortali: cf. *quod si Christus non resurrexit, vana est fides vestra. Si in hac vita tantum in Christo sperantes sumus, miserabiliores sumus omnibus hominibus* (St. Paul, *Cor.* 2. 15. 17-19); *maledictus homo qui confidit in homine* (Jerem. 17. 5); *Ps.* 145.

§ 4. **Aegyptii . . . hominem**: cf. *ἄνθρωπον σέβουσι κατὰ Ἄνουβιν κώμην . . . καὶ τούτῳ θύεται καὶ . . . τὰ ἱερεῖα καίεται* (Porph. Περὶ Ἀποχ. 4. 9); Euseb. *Praep. Evang.* 3. 4.

propitiant: arch. and post-class.

at: Vahlen for *et* of P.

conscientiam, "consciousness."

§ 5. **principibus . . . regibus**: ref. especially to the apotheosis of Roman emperors. Some commentators see a special ref. to Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus.

verius . . . praebeatur, "it would be more correct . . . more agreeable to offer"; cf. *praeclare eiecit* 24. 2.

numen . . . genium: emperor worship began with Julius Caesar, to whom statues and altars were erected and a temple under the title of Jupiter Julius (Dio 44. 6; Suet. *I. Caes.* 88). From the Eastern provinces the worship of the *numen Augusti* spread to the West. In Rome Augustus refused to receive such honours (Suet. *Oct.* 52), but subsequent emperors encouraged the cult. From the begining the emperors actively encouraged the worship of the Imperial Genius (see D'Alton, *Horace and his Age,* pp. 57 ff.; Warde Fowler, *Roman Ideas of Deity,* pp. 90 ff.; E. Beurlier, *Le Culte impérial,* Paris, 1891).

vocant = *invocant*; poet. (Verg. *A.* 6. 247; Hor. *Od.* 1. 2. 25). Introd. vi. A 5.

ad imagines supplicant: cf. Pliny, *Ep.* 10. 97.

tutius . . . Iovis . . . regis: ordinary perjury was left to the gods to punish (*Cod. Just.* 7. 1. 2). Violation of an oath by the genius of the emperor was a criminal offence. Cf. *Dig.* 12. 2; 13. 6; Tac. *A.* 1. 73; 3. 66; Suet. *Tib.* 58; Philostr. *Apollon.* 1. 15. 2; Tert. *Apol.* 28 (see Mayor's n.).

§ 6. **cruces . . . nec optamus:** i.e. Christians have no desire for crucifixion. Cf. Tert. *Apol.* 16. 6; 50; *Ad Nat.* 1. 12; Just. M. *Apol.* 1. 57. Tert. *Ad Scap.* 1 and 2 represents the Christians as anxious for persecution and rejoicing in condemnation.

ut partes, "as being part." Wooden statues of gods worshipped by pagans resembled the cross on which malefactors were punished, the arms representing the transverse beam.

forsitan: with indic.; mostly poet. and post-Aug.; cf. Livy 21. 40.

§ 7. **signa . . . vexilla:** *signum* = the ensign of the legion, being the eagle principally after 104 B.C. (Pliny, *N.H.* 10. 4). The nature of the *cantabrum* is not known, being mentioned only here and in Tert. *Apol.* 16. The *vexillum*, the standard of a *centuria*, consisted of a streamer attached to a pole, which, like the eagle (*signa*) with outstretched wings, had the appearance of a cross. Tac. refers to the *aquilae* as *propria legionum numina* (*A.* 2. 17).

tropaea: the *tropaeum* consisted of a block of wood or stone surmounted by a transverse bar. This, with the spoils suspended, presented in the distance the appearance of a man. Cf. *cum cruces intestina sint tropaeorum* (Tert. *ibid.* 16); Joseph. *Antiq.* 15. 11; Euseb. *Vita Const.* 1. 28. 2.

§ 8. **naturaliter,** "naturally," i.e. as the result of nature's action in opposition to man's handiwork (*imitantur*). Cf. Just. M. *Apol.* 1. 55.

velis tumentibus . . . palmulis: note poet. lang.; cf. Verg. *A.* 5. 163.

iugum, "the yoke," consisting of a transverse beam attached to a horizontal one.

pura mente here = *sola mente*, i.e. prayer without any admixture of offerings or sacrifice; cf. *argentum purum* (unornamented) (Cic. *Verr.* 2. 4. 22); *pura hasta* (without an iron head) (Prop. 4. 3. 68).

ratio naturalis = *ratio naturae*, "nature," i.e. the sign of the

cross is a phenomenon of nature as well as a constituent element of Roman religion.

aut . . . aut: the admission of either alternative is damaging to the charge against Christianity.

CHAPTER XXX

§ 1. **convenire,** "to meet."

de: Introd. vi. C 48 c.

fata vulnerum = *fatalia vulnera.* Introd. vi. C 19.

capiat, "would be subjected to."

rudem: in lit. sense, "unwrought"; as if merely a blood substance; cf. *crudus.*

audere: Gelenius for *audire* of P. Cf. *qui ista credis de homine potes et facere* (Tert. *Apol.* 9).

§ 2. **filios exponere:** cf. Tert. *Apol.* 9; Orig. *Contra Cels.* 8. 55; Just. M. *Apol.* 1. 27; Athenag. *Suppl.* 35.

astrangulatos: *ἅπαξ εἰρημ.* *Strangulare,* class. Introd. vi. A 2.

originem exstinguant: Juv. *S.* 2. 32; 6. 368.

parricidium: used of any unnatural crime; 25. 2; cf. Cic. *Verr.* 2. 5. 66.

§ 3. **disciplina,** "practice." Cf. Tert. *Apol.* 9; Sen. *Helv.* 16. 3; Athenag. *Suppl.* 35.

Saturnus voravit: cf. Cic. *N.D.* 2. 64; Tert. *ibid.* 9.

Africae . . . infantes: cf. Lact. *Div. Inst.* 1. 21; Plato, *Min.* 315 B; Diod. Sic. 20. 14; Curt. *Alex. Vita,* 4. 16. These instances are cited by Cic. *Rep.* 3. 15.

flebilis: active; resistance on the part of the victim was a bad omen. Cf. Pliny, *N.H.* 8. 45; Lucan, *Bell. Phars.* 7. 156; Tert. *l.c.*

§ 4. **Tauris:** the Tauri of the Tauric Chersonnese (Crimea) on the Black Sea used to sacrifice strangers on the altar of Diana (Eurip. *Iphig. in Taur.*; Ov. *Trist.* 3. 4). Cf. Clem. Alex. *Cohort.* 3. 42; Tert. *l.c.*

Busiridi: a legendary king of Egypt, said to have sacrificed all foreigners who visited the country. He was killed by Hercules (Herod. 2. 45; Diod. *Bibl. Hist.* 4. 27).

Mercurio: 6. 1. Cf. Lucan, *Phars.* 1. 444; Tac. *Germ.* 10; *A.* 1. 61; Lact. *Div. Inst.* 1. 21.

Gallos: Waltzing reads *Gallis* (Wopkens). Minucius often varies the coustruction. Introd. vi. D.

vel inhumanas = *vel potius inhumanas*; *vel* corrective.

Romani . . . sacrificii: sc. *ritus fuit.* *Sacrificii,* read. of P, has

been emended to *sacrificia* by some who take *Romani* as subst. with hist. infin. *obruere.* Davies explains *sacrificii* as gen. after *causa* understood. Octavius is emphasising the point that burying alive was a ritual of Roman sacrifice. *Sacri vice* (Gronovius). For the custom referred to see Livy 22. 57. 6. Cf. Pliny, *N.H.* 28. 12. It is doubtful, however, if such a thing ever took place in historical times (see *Jour. of Roman Studies*, 1912, vol. ii. pt. i., Art. by J. S. Reid).

hodieque : 21. 11.

Latiaris : at the Latin Festival a gladiator was sacrificed on the Capitol to Jupiter Latiaris. Cf. Lact. *Div. Inst.* 1. 21.

homicidio : post-class.

§ 5. **Catilinam** : to strengthen their bond of union, the Catiline conspirators drank human blood (Sall. *Cat.* 22. 2 ; cf. Florus 2. 12. 4).

Bellonam : the Asiatic Bellona, imported after the Mithridatic wars, was worshipped by priests who indulged in orgiastic dances and inflicted wounds on their bodies. Cf. 24. 4.

haustu, "by drawing of."

imbuere : here, in lit. sense, "to dye" or "stain" ; see 9. 5. Cf. Tert. *Apol.* 9. 10.

comitialem morbum : a draught of the warm blood of a gladiator killed in the arena was considered a cure for epilepsy (Celsus, *De Medic.* 3. 23 ; cf. Pliny, *N.H.* 28. 1. 2). Cf. Tert. *Apol.* 9.

§ 6. **de harena** = *harenarias.* Introd. vi. C 48. Cf. Tert. *Apol.* 9 ; Apul. *Metam.* 4. 4.

viscere : in class. prose only in plur.

nec videre nec audire : i.e. at the amphitheatre and theatre. Cf. *ὅτου γε καὶ τὰς θέας τῶν μονομάχων ἡμῖν ἀπείρηται ὁρᾶν . . . ἀλλ᾽ οὐδὲ τὰς λοιπὰς θεωρίας ὁρᾶν χρή* (Theoph. *Ad Autol.* 3. 5) ; Athenag. *Suppl.* 35 ; Tert. *Spectac.* 19-20.

nec edulium = *ne edulium quidem.* The Jews were forbidden to eat blood, as being the life of the animal which should be offered to God. Similarly the flesh of animals killed by suffocation was forbidden as still containing the blood. This prohibition was very ancient, going back to the time of Noah (*Gen.* 9. 2). In the Mosaic law the prohibition is continued (*Levit.* 3. 17 ; 7. 26 ; 17. 12-14 ; *Deut.* 12. 16 and 23). At the Council of Jerusalem (*circ.* 51 A.D.) a regulation was made that gentile Christians in Antioch, Syria, and Cilicia should accommodate themselves to the practice of their Jewish brethren in this matter (St. Paul,

Acts, 15. 23): St. Paul published this decree in Galatia (*ibid.* 16. 4), and it may be presumed that the law prevailed wherever Jewish Christians existed in large numbers. Cf. Euseb. *Hist. Eccles.* 5. 1. 26 and 52; Tert. *Apol.* 9 (see Mayor's n.).

CHAPTER XXXI

§ 1. **aspersione**: Wower for *aversione* of P; cf. *ne infamia quidem est aspersus* (Cic. *Cael.* 10. 23).

opinionis, "reputation."

§ 2. **isto** = *ista re.* Introd. vi. C 5.

tuus Fronto, "your friend Fronto"; cf. *tui Serapidis* (12. 10). Caecilius appealed in this connexion to the testimony of Fronto (9. 6).

affirmator . . . orator: *affirmator* (post-Aug.), "one who vouches for a fact"; cf. *est enim iusiurandum affirmatio religiosa* (Cic. *Off.* 3. 29); *Dig.* 27. 7. 4. *Orator*, "a declaimer." The composition of the rhetor or orator was not expected to tally with historical truth. Cicero approves of a sprinkling of little lies for effect (*De Or.* 2. 59. 241). Fronto was notoriously lax in this connexion. Marcus Aurelius called him, by way of compliment, the greatest of all the liars (Fronto, *Ad M. Caes.* 2. 3). Cf. Tert. speaking of such charges: *dicimur tamen semper, nec vos quod tam diu dicimur eruere curatis* (*Apol.* 7).

ius . . . Persas: cf. Tert. *Apol.* 9; Pliny, *N.H.* 2. 7. 17; Tat. *Ad Graec.* 2; Athenag. *Suppl.* 20.

§ 3. **Aegyptiis . . . Athenis**: note variation. *Aegyptiis*, dat. of pers. interested; *Athenis*, local abl. Wower emends to *Atheniensibus.* The Egyptians allowed marriage between children of the same parents (Diod. Sic. 1. 27; Pausan. *Attic.* 7); the Athenians between children of the same father (Corn. Nep. *Cimon*, 1).

memoriae, "histories"; cf. 16. 5.

et deos = *etiam d.*, i.e. Jupiter, who had children by his mother Rhea, his sister Juno, and his daughter Core (Clem. Alex. *Protrept.* 2. 16); cf. Athenag. *Supplic.* 28; Arnob. *Adv. Nat.* 5. 21.

§ 4. **merito**: 1. 3.

alienae . . . exponere: cf. Tert. *Ad Nat.* 1. 16; Lact. *Div. Inst.* 6. 20.

filios, "children"; cf. with this passage Tert. *Apol.* 9; Lact. *ibid.* 6. 20; Just. M. *Apol.* 1. 27.

incesti fabulam, "the drama of incest"; ref. to Soph. *Oed. Tyr.*

§ 5. **facie . . . mente** = *specie . . . revera* ; cf. *in faciem pacis*, "so as to give the appearance of peace" (Tac. *A.* 13. 38) ; *ibid.* 1. 49 ; Sall. *Iug. Bell.* 78. 3. Tr. "not by outward show, but in our soul." Cf. Verg. *A.* 6. 104, where the first-sight appearance (*facies*) is contrasted with what has been grasped and reflected upon (*animo . . . peregi*). Cf. *infra* : *fruuntur potiusquam gloriantur.*

unius matrimonii : the early Christians condemned second marriages on the strength of St. Matt. 5. 32 ; 19. 5 ; St. Paul, *Cor.* 1. 7. 8 ; cf. Just. M. *Apol.* 1. 15 ; Tert. *Monogam.* ; Athenag. *Suppl.* 28.

plerique = *permulti* ; 14. 6. Cf. Athenag. *ibid.* 33 ; Just. M. *ibid.* 1. 15 ; Tert. *Apol.* 9.

§ 6. **nec . . . statim . . . si,** "nor does it immediately follow that . . . if." *Continuo* is thus freq. used by Cic. to state the logical seq. from a fact, but only when there is a denial of consequence.

purpuras, "official honours" (Brod.). Cf. *septima purpura* (Flor. 3. 21. 17).

factiosi : Heraldus, for *fastidiosi* of P, being a reply to the charge of Caecilius that the Christians organised secret cabals (8. 3-4). *Sapimus*, however, seems to favour the MS. read.

unum bonum sapimus, "animated by one spirit, which is good." Cf. *ut idem sapiatis* (St. Paul, *Philipp.* 2. 2) ; *id.*, *Rom.* 15. 5.

congregati . . . singuli : cf. *hoc sumus congregati quod et dispersi, hoc universi quod et singuli, neminem laedentes, neminem contristantes* (Tert. *Apol.* 39. 21).

publice = *palam* ; 19. 5.

§ 7. **nostri** : Introd. vi. C 20.

suus . . . alienus, "the votary . . . the stranger." *Suus* is very rarely used as subst. in sing. ; cf. *si quem libido abripuit, illorum eum cum quibus coniuravit non suum iudicet esse* (Livy 39. 16. 5).

accrescit : cf. *veteribus negotiis nova adcrescunt* (Pliny, *Ep.* 2. 8. 3).

§ 8. **notaculo** : dimin. of *nota* ; *ἅπαξ εἰρημ.*

nos mutuo : *nos* inserted by Halm ; cf. 9. 2 (*se mutuo*). *Mutuo*, however, in post-Aug. Lat. is used for *inter se*, *inter nos*, etc.

fratres : 3. 1.

consortes . . . coheredes : cf. *heredes Dei et cohaeredes Christi* (St. Paul, *Rom.* 8. 17) ; *heredes vitae aeternae* (*id.*, *Tit.* 1. 3. 7) ; St. Peter, *Ep.* 1. 3. 7.

invicem = *inter vos*; in this sense mostly post-Aug.; cf. *invicem desiderio teneri* (Pliny, *Ep.* 4. 1. 2).

parricidium: there may be a particular allusion to the murder of Geta by his brother Caracalla (212 A.D.). The latter's speech to the Senate after the event, as found in *Hist. Aug. Script.*, lays special emphasis on the word *frater* (see Holden, n. *ad loc.*). There is a general ref. to family quarrels in connexion with inheritance. Cf. Tert., *vel quia ex substantia familiari fratres sumus, quae penes vos fere dirimit fraternitatem* (*Apol.* 39); "*Vide*," *inquiunt*, "*ut invicem se diligant*;" *ipsi enim invicem oderunt*, "*et ut pro alterutro mori sint parati*"; *ipsi enim ad occidendum alterutrum paratiores* (*ibid.*); Sen. *Ep.* 88.

CHAPTER XXXII

§ 1. **delubra . . . aras**: see 10. 2.

dei homo . . . simulacrum: cf. *templum Dei* (St. Paul, *Cor.* 2. 6. 16; 1. 3. 16); Clem. Alex. *Strom.* 7. 5; Lact. *Div. Inst.* 2. 2. 16.

templum quod: 17. 8.

mundus . . . fabricatus: 22. 5; cf. St. Paul, *Acts*, 7. 48-50; 17. 24.

homo . . . maneam, "mere man though I am, I have more latitude of abode."

§ 2. **nonne melius**, "is it not better that"; cf. 29. 5; 24. 2.

dedicandus . . . consecrandus: brachylogy for *templum dedicandum*, etc.; cf. Cic. *N.D.* 2. 31. 79; Livy 5. 52.

hostias . . . victimas: *hostiae* included sheep, goats and swine; *victimae*, animals of the bovine kind.

mei: Introd. vi. C 20.

litabilis, "acceptable," finding favour with God; a neolog.; cf. Lact. *Div. Inst.* 1. 21. 25. *Litare*, to obtain one's request by sacrifice: *cum pluribus diis immolatur, qui tandem evenit ut litetur aliis, aliis non litetur* (Cic. *Div.* 2. 17. 38). Cf. *Ps.* 4. 5; 51. 17.

sincera sententia, "a pure intention." Note double cretic. Cf. St. Paul, *Tim.* 1. 1. 5; Cic. *N.D.* 2. 71; Sen. ap. Lact. *Div. Inst.* 6. 25. 3.

§ 3. **propitiat**: 29. 4.

§ 4. **at enim**, "but, it may be objected."

videre non possumus: subord. in sense, "even though, etc.," a paratactical constr., freq. in Cic.

operibus . . . virtutem: cf. *invisibilia enim ipsius . . . per ea*

quae facta sunt, intellecta conspiciuntur: sempiterna quoque eius virtus et divinitas (St. Paul, *Rom.* 1. 20. 21); Lact. *Div. Inst.* 7. 9.

fulminat, serenat = *fulget, tranquillat*; poet.

§ 5. **nec mireris**: 18. 9.

vento . . . flatibus, "the winds that blow"; *flatus* mostly poet.

sub oculis: as if after *est*; on contrary *in publicum* (8. 4; 19. 14); cf. Lact. *Div. Inst.* 7. 9.

in solem adeo: Cellarius for *sole* of P. *Adeo*, 16. 5. Cf. Xenoph. *Memorab.* 4. 10 ff.; Cic. *Tusc.* 1. 22; Theoph. *Ad Autol.* 1. 5.

acies, etc.: *acies*, "eyesight," power of seeing; *obtutus*, "vision," actual seeing (Cic. *obtutus oculorum*); *visus*, "sight" includes both. *Summovetur*, "is scattered."

§ 6. **carnalibus**: as opposed to *spiritalibus*; 18. 10. Introd. vi. A 3.

animam . . . tenere: cf. Cic., *proinde quasi nostram ipsam mentem, qua sapimus, qua providemus, qua haec ipsa agimus et dicimus, videre aut plane qualis aut ubi sit sentire possimus* (*Mil.* 31. 84). *Vivificaris*: a neolog. Cf. Tert. *Ad Val.* 14. *Tenere*, "to comprehend"; cf. Cic. *Div.* 1. 15. 25.

§ 7. **sed enim**: 25. 1.

obire, "reach." Cf. *tantum restitisset urbis, quantum flamma obire non potuisset* (Cic. *Cat.* 3. 10. 25).

unde deus longe: cf. St. Paul, *Acts*, 17. 28; *Ps.* 93. 11; Jerem. 23. 23.

orbis provinciam: explan. genit.; the world is only a province in the kingdom of the universe. *Orbis*: Introd. vi. A 3.

cognita, plena: Waltzing after Ursinus omits *cognita* as a marg. gloss on *plena*. It corresponds, however, to *non potest singulos nosse*. *Deo*: dat. with *cognita*, and abl. with *plena*. Cf. Verg. *Ecl.* 3. 60; Arat. *Phaenom.* 2.

proximus . . . infusus: cf. *prope est a te deus, tecum est, intus est* (Sen. *Ep.* 41. 1; cf. *Frag.* 123).

§ 8. **solem**: Gelenius for *sole* of P. *Intende*: 7. 5.

terris omnibus: without prep.; 18. 4.

claritudo = *claritas*; cf. Sall. *Iug. Bell.* 2. 4; not in Cic. or Caes.

§ 9. **speculator**: cf. Tert. *Apol.* 45. 9; Lact. *Div. Inst.* 6. 8.

nullum . . . secretum . . . interest: cf. *nihil a deo clusum est. Interest animis nostris et cogitationibus mediis intervenit* (Sen. *Ep.* 83. 1); St. Paul, *Cor.* 1. 4. 5; *Hebr.* 4. 13; *Ps.* 139. 1-12.

sub illo . . . cum illo : cf. *in ipso enim vivimus et movemur et sumus* (St. Paul, *Acts*, 17. 28). *Et* = *etiam*.

dixerim : post-class. for *dicam*.

CHAPTER XXXIII

§ 1. **blandiamur** : a reply to the objection that the number of men in the world is so large that God cannot reach all (*nec universis sufficere*, 10. 5).

deo, "in God's sight"; dat. of relation.

domus . . . mundus : cf. *est enim mundus quasi communis deorum atque hominum domus* (Cic. *N.D.* 2. 154); *id.*, *Rep.* 3. 14.

tamen : the opposit. is with the second member *deo . . . indiciis* : "kings . . . while God. . . ." *Tamen* is put forward for emphasis.

regni . . . universa : 17. 10. Introd. vi. C 18.

indiciis : for *indicibus*; Introd. vi. C 1. Cf. *non quaerit ministros deus* (Sen. *Ep.* 95. 47).

§ 2. **sed** : introducing an objection; 25. 1.

priorum . . . posteriorum : substs., "their previous . . . their later history."

§ 3. **quamdiu caste** : Boenig for *quamdiu enim eum caste* of P. Waltzing reads *dereliquerunt* (Winterfield) after *deus est*. But Octavius is here speaking of the past history (*priora*) of the Jews before they abandoned God. The insertion of *enim eum* after *quamdiu* was prob. due to the finite verb in the parenthet. clause (*idem . . . est*), the scribe regarding *quamdiu* as beginning a new sent. Lindsay places a full stop after *deus est*, understanding *colunt* after *deum* from previous *coluerunt*. Cf. Tert. *Apol.* 21; Cypr. *Idol. Van.* 6. 1.

de = *ex* : Introd. vi. C 48.

fugiunt : sc. *hostes*. Cf. *Josh.* 10. 11-13.

dei iussu, etc. : cf. *Judges*, 7. 9; *Josh. ibid.*

§ 4. **Flavi Iosephi** : Josephus was born in Jerusalem 37 A.D., but lived at Rome from 70 A.D. until his death in 98 A.D., taking the name of Flavius from Vespasian. His principal works are *The Hist. of the Jewish War* in seven books, written originally in Syro-Chaldaic, but translated by him into Greek; *The Jewish Antiquities* in twenty books, also translated into Greek. Editors (Lindner, Baehrens, Waltzing) suspect a corruption in the MSS. because Josephus is classed as a Roman. Josephus, however, with a Roman *nomen* and living so long at Rome might be considered just as Roman as Livius Andronicus or Terence, and if he wrote in

Greek so did Fabius Pictor and many other Roman historians. Waltzing reads *relege, vel, ut transeamus veteres, Flavi Iosephi vel si Romanis magis gaudes Antoni Iuliani* (Lindner).

Antoni Iuliani: an unknown writer. A rhetor of the name in the time of Hadrian is mentioned by Gellius (*N.A.* 1. 4). The procurator of Judaea in 70 A.D. also bore this name.

§ 5. **deseruisse . . . transfugas**: milit. terms.

CHAPTER XXXIV

§ 1. **umorem deficere**: there is evidently a lacuna in P here. The burning of the world is possible in two ways: either by fire falling from heaven or by the waters of the earth becoming exhausted (§ 2). Read. of P is *aut improvisum ignem cadere aut difficile.* Waltzing after Norden reads *deficere umorem*, taking *difficile* as a corruption of *deficere.* Our suggestion is that the scribe's mistake arose owing to the similarity between *cadere aut* and *deficere haud* (*haud* being often written *haut*). Cf. *linguam defecerat umor* (Ov. *M.* 9. 567); Verg. *G.* 1. 290. Tr.: "Concerning the conflagration of the world, there is no difficulty (sc. *est*) in either fire suddenly falling or moisture failing."

vulgaris erroris: i.e. a mistake of which philosophers are incapable.

§ 2. **caelum . . . abiturum**: after *coepisse* the read. of P is: *desinere fontium dulcis aqua maria.* Our suggestion is that *si* dropped out after *coepisse* and that *desinere* is a corruption of *desinerent.* This gives excellent sense and does least violence to the MSS. The Stoic theory was that the sun, moon and stars being made of fire required to be nourished or fed: *sunt stellae natura flammeae: quocirca terrae, maris, aquarum vaporibus aluntur iis, qui a sole ex agris tepefactis et ex aquis excitantur . . . Ex quo eventurum nostri putant . . . ut ad extremum omnis mundus ignesceret cum humore consumpto, neque terra ali posset neque remearet aër, cuius ortus aqua omni exhausta esse posset* (Cic. *N.D.* 2. 46; cf. *ibid.* 3. 14). For the present these flames are being fed by the vapours ascending from the waters of the earth and sea, but if at any time these waters should fail, the heavens would end in fire (*in vim ignis abiturum*) as they began (*ita ut coepisse*) and consume everything. Cf. *deus in flammas abiit* (Ov. *M.* 1. 495). *Coepisse*: infin. by attract. to *abiturum* sc. *esse.*

Waltzing places a full stop after *desinere* of P and then inserts *omnem adeo mundum, si solem, lunam, reliqua astra desierit*, finishing the sent. at *ignescat.* For *maria* he reads *et aqua marina* (Vahlen). Holden

after Lindner places a full stop after *desinere* and reads *dulci aquas marisve nutriri*, but is inclined to regard *fontium . . . nutrire* as a gloss.

Cf. Lucr. 1. 231 ; Diog. Laert. 7. 1. 71 ; Just. M. *Apol.* 2. 7 ; Tat. *Ad Graec.* 6 and 25.

opinio: sc. *caelum in vim ignis abiturum*. The *quod* clause is causal.

mundus . . . ignescat : cf. *ut ad extremum omnis mundus ignesceret cum humore consumpto* (Cic. *N.D.* 2. 46).

§ 3. **Epicureis** : see 11. 1. Cf. Lucr. 5. 381 ff. ; Lact. *Vit. Beat.* 1. 10.

elementorum : the principal parts of the universe, viz. the heavens, earth, sea and ether.

§ 4. **eloquenter** : P reads *loquitur . . . dicit*. Waltzing retains *loquitur*, omitting *dicit*. Schöne, *eloquenter . . . disserit*. Cf. Plato, *Tim.* 22 c ; Athenag. *Suppl.* 15.

fabricatum : 22. 5.

solubilem = *dissolubilem*, neolog. ; cf. ἄλυτον Plato, *Tim.* 32 c ; Cic. *Tim.* 10 and 15 ; Just. M. *Contra Tryph.* 5.

et . . . mortalem : *et* displaced to give metr. end. (cretic and trochee). Introd. vi. C 39.

§ 5. **praedicationibus . . . imitati** : this statement is constantly repeated. Cf. Tert. *Apol.* 47 (see Mayor's note) ; Just. M. *Apol.* 1. 54 ; *Cohort. ad Graec.* 14 ; Aug. *Civ. Dei*, 8. 11 ; Theoph. *Ad Autol.* 1. 14 ; Tat. *Ad Graec.* 40 ; Clem. Alex. *Strom.* 1. 16. Waltzing reads *praedictionibus* (Gelenius). Cf. *praedicator*, "prophet" (Tert. *Apol.* 18. 35). *Imitati sint* : for subj. cf. 14. 3 ; 40. 3. Introd. vi. C 36. *Interpolatae* : "botched with falsehood" (Holden).

§ 6. **condicionem renascendi,** "rebirth" (Gk. παλιγγενεσία). Cf. *condicio nascendi* (Sen. *De Otio* 4).

Pythagoras primus : according to Herod. (2. 123) metempsychosis was an Egyptian doctrine. Caes. speaks of the druids in Gaul as holding a similar belief (*B.G.* 6. 13). Cic. attributes the discovery of the doctrine to Pherecydes, the teacher of Pythagoras (*Tusc.* 1. 16), the latter having probably learned the doctrine from the contemporary Orphics. See Mayor, Tert. *Apol.* 48. Cf. Athenag. *Suppl.* 36.

praecipuus Plato : the doctrine of Reminiscence so prominent in the *Meno* and *Phaedo* is based on the transmigration theory ; cf. *Rep.* x.

fide, "the truth."

§ 7. **retorquendam** : Introd. vi. A 5. Cf. *mentem retorsit* (Verg. *A.* 12. 841).

mimi convicio: Ursinus for *mimico vitio* of P. Cf. *si quis philosophus affirmet, ut ait Laberius de sententia Pythagorae, hominem fieri ex mulo* (Tert. *Apol.* 48. 1); Lact. *Div. Inst.* 7. 12. 30.

§ 8. **satis ad propositum**: Introd. iii.

§ 9. **ut potuisse**: cf. *ut coepisse* (§ 2 *supra*). For same argt. cf. Tert. *Apol.* 48; *Resurrect. Carn.* 11; Just. M. *Apol.* 1. 19; Tat. *Ad Graec.* 6; Theoph. *Ad Autol.* 1. 8; Athenag. *Resurrect.* 3 and 15; Lact. *Div. Inst.* 7. 23.

nihil esse: sc. *hominem.*

et ante, "just as before"; paratact. constr.

§ 10. **et deo** = *etiam deo*; dat. of advant., cf. *deo reservatur.* Cf. Athenag. *ibid.* 2 and 8.

omne = *totum.*

sive in pulverem: cf. Tat. *Ad Graec.* 6. *Nidorem*, "smoke," "vapour." Cf. *tenuatus in auras* (Ov. *M.* 15. 246).

elementorum custodia: abl. of means; the elements of fire, air, earth or water preserve the corporeal remains.

reservatur contains the notion of saving for future use; cf. *natura reservans semina rebus* (Lucr. 1. 614).

damnum sepulturae, "loss resulting from cremation"; for *sepultura* = *crematio* cf. Tac. *A.* 2. 73; Livy 8. 24 (*sepultum*).

veterem consuetudinem: inhumation was the regular custom at Rome in ancient times. Towards the end of the Republic and until the fourth cent. A.D. cremation prevailed. Cf. Cic. *Legg.* 2. 25; Pliny, *N.H.* 7. 54.

§ 11. **nostri**: Introd. vi. C 20.

meditetur, "designs."

demergit: used intrans.; Introd. vi. A 3. For similar reasoning cf. Theoph. *Ad Autol.* 1. 13; Tert. *Apol.* 48; *Resurrect. Carn.* 12; Aug. *Civ. Dei*, 22. 21; Catull. 5. 4.

semina . . . corrupta: cf. St. Paul, *Cor.* 1. 15. 36; Tert. *Apol.* 48.

saeculo, "time" as opposed to eternity. Cf. Sulp. Sev. *Hist. Sacr.* 11. 29. 6; *Apol.* 48. 11 (*temporalis aetas*).

in hiberno: cf. *hibernum tempus* (Cic. *Rep.* 1. 18). Here as subst.; cf. Tert. *Contra Marc.* 1. 1.

virorem = *viriditatem*; post-class.

mentita: pass.; poet.

§ 12. **cruda hieme**: 22. 8.

plerosque: 14. 6.

saeculo, "lifetime"; cf. *illustrari saeculum suum eiusmodi exemplo arbitrabatur* (Pliny, *Ep.* 4. 11. 6).

quanto . . . tardum : this use of *quanto* with a posit. in the rel. clause of compar. sents. is freq. in Tac., cf. *A.* 1. 57. 1 ; 3. 5. 4 ; 6. 21. 4.

CHAPTER XXXV

§ 1. **doctissimorum libris** : e.g. Plato, *Phaedo*, 112 D, 113 B.

poetarum : Hom. *Od.* 10. 154 ; Verg. *A.* 6. 413 ff.

de Stygia . . . ardoris : cf. *novies Styx interfusa coercet* (Verg. *ibid.* 439 ; cf. 323). *De* (= *ex*) with *ambientis.*

cruciatibus : dat. of purp. Introd. vi. C 22.

praeparata : sc. *esse* ; infin. after *cognita.*

daemonum indiciis : there is no evidence of such confession by demons.

§ 2. **torrentes ripas** : cf.—

> *dixerat : idque ratum Stygii per flumina fratris,*
> *per pice torrentes atraque voragine ripas*
> *annuit.*
>
> (Verg. *A.* 9. 104-5.)

iurat religiose : cf.—

> καὶ τὸ κατειβόμενον Στυγὸς ὕδωρ ὅς τε μέγιστος
> ὅρκος δεινότατός τε πέλει μακάρεσσι θεοῖσιν

(Hom. *Od.* 5. 185) ; Verg. *A.* 6. 323.

cultoribus, 22. 4.

praescius : poet. and post-class. Note alliteration.

§ 3. **sapiens ignis**, "a subtle fire," because it preserves its victim ; cf. Tert. *Adv. Gnost.* 3 ; Clemens Alex. *Cohort.* 35 (πῦρ σωφρονοῦν).

Aetnaei . . . Vesvii : P has *hennei* and *lesui.* Emend. by Oehler and Wower resp. For the form *Vesvius* (Vesuvius) cf. Mart. 4. 44. 1 ; Stat. *S.* 4. 4. 79 ; Suet. *Tit.* 8. The first eruption of Vesuvius took place A.D. 79 ; the next recorded eruption A.D. 203. The volcano, however, was active in the meantime (Dio Cass. 66. 21). Cf. *necdum letale minari cessat apex* (Stat. 4. 4. 84). On the mere strength of the ref. here the composition of the *Octavius* cannot be dated after the latter eruption, as some suggest.

ubique, "wherever they are."

erogantur, "are spent" ; orig. a leg. term, viz. to pay money out of the public treasury after asking (*ex*, *rogare*) the people ; hence "to spend."

poenale : post-class.

damnis . . . laceratione : abls. of accomp. circumstances. Note hypallage, *inexesa laceratione* for *inexesorum corporum laceratione. Inexesus* : ἅπαξ εἰρημ. Introd. vi. A 2.

§ 4. **torqueri . . . qui deum nesciunt** : cf. St. Paul, *Thess.* 2. 1. 8 ; Sen. *Ep.* 95. 47.

profanus : 8. 3.

deliberat = *dubitat* ; 22. 1.

§ 5. **sufficiat . . . prosit** : potent. subjs.

quamvis . . . est : *quamvis* with indic. is found in Livy, but the construction is mostly post-class.

in nonnullis . . . disciplina minor : *nonnullis* masc. ; *disciplina . . . minor*, "observance of our rule is less perfect." Cf. *sed dicet aliquis etiam de nostris excedere quosdam a regula disciplinae* (Tert. *Apol.* 46 ; cf. 44).

§ 6. **et facitis** : 12. 13.

solummodo : 18. 3.

viri nascimur : cf. *Christianus uxori suae soli masculus nascitur* (Tert. *Apol.* 46).

apud nos, "in our estimation." Cf. Cic. *Verr.* 1. 49.

et cogitare = *etiam cogitare.* Cf.—

> *nam scelus intra se tacitum qui cogitat ullum,*
> *facti crimen habet*

(Juv. *S.* 13. 209) ; Sen. *Constant. Sap.* 7.

de . . . exaestuat : *de* Introd. vi. C 48. Cf. Tert. *Apol.* 44. 3 ; *de vestris semper aestuat carcer* (*id.*, *Ad Scap.* 2) ; Lact. *Div. Inst.* 5. 9. 15.

religionis : construed with *reus* (gen. of charge) and *profugus.* The latter (not found in Cic. or Caes.) is always constr. in Livy with abl. or *ex.* Tac. uses gen. Cf. *disciplinae transfugus* (33. 5). Cf. Tert. *ibid. l.c.* ; Lact. *ibid. l.c.* ; Pliny, *Ep. ad Trai.* 96. 8.

CHAPTER XXXVI

§ 1. **nec . . . captet** : 18. 9.

excuset eventum, "seek an excuse in fate (*de fato*) for what occurs," i.e. for his conduct.

sit sors fortunae : Heumann for *sit sortis fortunae* of P. Tr. "granting that the lot of fortune (good or bad) exists." Octavius is speaking of genethliacal fate (cf. *genitura* 2 *infra*), the destiny by which one is born to high social rank (*dignitas*) or the contrary.

§ 2. **fatum . . . fatus est** : P reads *fatum* for *fatus* (Sabbaeus). Cf. *fatum dicunt esse quod dii fantur vel quod Iupiter fatur* (Isidor. *Orig.* 8. 2) ; Aug. *Civ. Dei*, 5. 9 ; Cic. *Div.* 1. 126.

praescire: poet. and post-Aug.; cf. *praescius* 35. 2.

materiam, "natural abilities"; cf. *Catonis materiam atque indolem* (Cic. *Verr.* 2. 3. 65); *id., Invent.* 1. 2. 2.

qualitatibus, "characteristics."

genitura: the circumstances of birth over which man has no control as opposed to his character (*natura ingenii*) which he can mould. Post-Aug.

vel si pauca: sc. *diximus*. *Vel*, "even." Cic. uses *etiamsi* thus without a verb.

disputaturi alias: Introd. ii. A. Cf. *de quo fato alias, nunc quod necesse est* (Cic. *Div.* 2. 19).

uberius: Meursius for *verius* (cf. 19. 2) of P; cf. 23. 5, where MSS. read *veribus* also. The express. *plenius et verius*, however, is found in a similar context in Lact. *Opif. Dei*, 20. 1; *Div. Inst.* 4. 30 (where *uberius* is a *v.l.*).

§ 4. **et tamen**, "and after all"; 11. 8.

quis potest = *nemo potest.*

eget = *cupit*; "desire," "wish for" (cf. Gk. δέομαι). Cf. Hor. *S.* 1. 59; *A.P.* 1. 54.

deo dives, "rich in the possession of God"; cf. *Crassus cum cognomine dives tum copiis* (Cic. *Off.* 2. 16. 57); *in deum dives* (St. Luke 11. 21).

pauper . . . desiderat: cf. *non qui parum habet, sed qui plus cupit, pauper est* (Sen. *Ep.* 2. 6).

§ 5. **nemo . . . natus**: cf. *contemnite paupertatem; nemo tam pauper vivit quam natus est* (*id., Prov.* 6. 6); St. Paul, *Tim.* 1. 6. 7.

aves . . . pascuntur: *pecua* (= *pecora*) (Gelenius) for *pascua* of P. Cf. *nihil deest avibus; pecora in diem vivunt* (Sen. *Remed. Fort.* 10. 1); St. Matt. 6. 26.

omnia . . . possidemus: cf. *omnia nimirum habet qui nihil concupiscit* (Val. Max. 4. 4, pr.); Sen. *Ep.* 119. 2; St. Paul, *Cor.* 2. 6. 10.

§ 6. **levior**, "less burdened." Cf. Lact. *Div. Inst.* 7. 1.

paupertate . . . onere: cf. *Democritus divitias proiecit, onus illas bonae mentis existimans* (Sen. *Prov.* 6. 2).

§ 7. **facultates**, "riches."

continere, "to hold fast," "to hoard"; cf. *merces continere* (as opp. to *partiri*) (Cic. *Vatin.* 5. 12). Waltzing adopts *non continere* (Norden), "not to keep within due bounds."

§ 8. **corporis . . . vitia**: for *vitia* "bodily ills" cf. Cic. *Tusc.* 4. 13. 29.

militia: cf. *verberat nos et lacerat fortuna; patiamur: non est*

saevitia, certamen est (Sen. *Prov.* 4. 12); St. Paul, *Hebr.* 12. 5; *Tim.* 2. 2. 3.

calamitas . . . torpescunt: *disciplina*, "school"; cf. *calamitas virtutis occasio est* (Sen. *ibid.* 4. 6); *bonus vir omnia adversa exercitationes putat* (*id.*, *ibid.* 1. 2); *nam marcet sine adversario virtus* (*id.*, *ibid.* 1. 4).

adeo, "in fact"; 5. 9.

§ 9. **nec non potest . . . despicit,** "neither is unable nor disdains to help." For *subvenire* as infinit. with *despicit* after analogy of *omitto* cf. 14. 2.

rector . . . amator: cf. Sen. *Prov.* 2. 6.

examinat . . . pensitat: cf. *hoc igitur deus quos probat, quos amat, indurat, recognoscit, exercet* (*id.*, *ibid.* 4. 7).

ad extremam mortem = *ad mortis periculum extremum*; cf. *extrema iam in morte* (Verg. *A.* 2. 447).

voluntatem . . . securus: cf. *Ps.* 139. 1-16. *Securus* with acc. and infin. *Sibi perire*, "disappear from his view," "be lost to his sight"; cf. *ecqua inde periisset soror* (Ter. *Eun.* 3. 3. 15).

ut aurum . . . arguimur: cf. *ignis aurum probat, miseria fortes viros* (Sen. *Prov.* 5. 9); *Prov.* 17. 3; St. James, *Ep.* 1. 7.

CHAPTER XXXVII

§ 1. **pulchrum spectaculum deo:** an imitation of Sen., *ecce spectaculum dignum, ad quod respiciat intentus operi suo deus, ecce par deo dignum, vir fortis cum fortuna mala compositus* (*Prov.* 2. 9). Cf. Gell., *congredientes compugnantesque philosophum et dolorem* (*N.A.* 12. 5. 3).

componitur, "matched" in opposition; a term frequently applied to gladiators.

horrorem, "terrible aspect"; poet. in this sense.

irridens inculcat: *irridens* (Gelenius) for *inripiens* of P; *inculcat*, "despises," lit. "tramples under foot," for the more usual *conculcat*, for sake of alliteration.

libertatem erigit, "asserts his liberty"; *erigit*, lit. "makes to stand erect." Cf. *libertas malis oppressa civilibus, extollere iam caput et aliquando se erigere debebat* (Cic. *Planc.* 13).

insultat: read. of *r*; P has *stultat*. Tr. "exults over."

obtinuit = *adeptus est*; as sometimes in Cic. Cf. *victoria est autem pro quo certareris obtinere* (Tert. *Apol.* 50. 2).

§ 2. **et . . . tamen:** 11. 8.

propagare, "extend."

militiam: abstr. for concr. *milites.*

§ 3. **at enim** does not introduce an objection here; *enim,* "truly," "in fact," as freq. in comic poets, especially Plautus.

miser videri . . . inveniri: cf. *potest enim (bonus vir) miser dici, non potest esse* (Sen. *Prov.* 3. 1).

ut: inserted by Heumann.

errasset in regem, "was mistaken in his attack on the king." Cf. 31. 3; Livy 31. 12. 8. For the story of Mucius Scaevola's attack on Porsenna and his murder of the king's secretary by mistake see Livy 2. 12. 7. Cf. Tert. *Apol.* 50. 4-6; Mart 1. 22; Lact. *Div. Inst.* 5. 12-14.

§ 4. **pertulerunt** = *passi sunt.* Cf. *exscindi urbes suas seque cremari pertulerunt* (Tac. *H.* 4. 58).

cum praesertim, "especially as."

dimitti: the infin. used as subst. (Introd. vi. C 29) like *familiam* in the phrase *habere familiam in potestate* (Livy 8. 15). Cf. Lact. *Div. Inst.* 5. 13. 2.

§ 5. **vel . . . aut:** *vel* as correl. with *aut* is post-Aug.

Aquilio: M'. Aquilius was sent out (89 B.C.) as commissioner to restore the kings of Bithynia and Cappadocia, whom Mithridates had expelled. Mithridates yielded without opposition, but Aquilius, disappointed in his hopes of plunder, instigated the restored monarchs to acts of aggression against Pontus, thus precipitating the first Mithridatic war (88 B.C.). Mithridates, after he had captured Aquilius, is said to have poured molten gold down his throat, to mark that his avarice had been the cause of all the ensuing calamities (App. *Mithrid.* 7. 19. 21; Pliny, *N.H.* 33. 3. 48). Cf. Arnob. *Adv. Nat.* 1. 40.

Regulo: 26. 3. For these examples cf. Cic. *Off.* 3. 26. 99; *Fin.* 5. 27. 82; Sen. *Prov.* 3. 4; Tert. *Apol.* 50.

terriculas: arch. and post-class.

inspirata: 27. 1. Cf. Lact. *Div. Inst.* 5. 13. 12.

§ 7. **nisi forte:** 18. 5.

quod affluant . . . floreant, etc.: subjs. of sub-obliq. narration, "the fact that, (as you allege)"; see 12. 5.

nescientes: part. used as subst.; cf. *soli ratione utentes iure ac lege vivunt* (Cic. *N.D.* 2. 62. 154); *id., ibid.* 2. 50. 127.

in hoc: neut. accus., "to this end."

tolluntur . . . decidant: cf. Juv. *S.* 10. 106; *Ps.* 73. 18-20; Claud. *Rufin.* 1. 22.

victimae . . . hostiae: 32. 2.

coronantur: a wreath (*corona*) of white wool bound with white ribbon was attached to the head of the victim. Cf. Juv. *S.* 13. 63; Verg. *A.* 2. 133; St. Paul, *Acts*, 14. 13.

imperiis . . . dominationibus: abl. of means.

ingenium . . . nundinentur, "that the dissoluteness of power may have unchecked traffic in their abandoned character." *Ingenium . . . mentis*: cf. *ingenium ingeni* (Plaut. *Stich.* 1. 2. 69); *mens animi* (Lucr. 4. 758). Some have rejected *ingenium eorum* as spurious and read *perditae mentes licentiae potestates*, supposing an allusion to the sale of the empire (*potestates*) by the Roman soldiers (*perditae mentes*) to Julian after the murder of Pertinax. For plur. *licentiae* see Introd. vi. C 1.

§ 8. **absque:** 11. 7.

mors sit: sc. *haec felicitas*; i.e. such happiness is something without life, a mere phantom.

§ 9. **es? sed:** Rigaltius for *esset* (*eēt*) of P.

times . . . timeris: cf. *necesse est multos timeat quem multi timent* (Laberius ap. Sen. *De Ira*, 2. 11. 3).

quamlibet: with *multo.*

ad periculum, "in the moment of danger"; *ad* denoting coincidence with a point of time; cf. *ad diem* (Cic. *Att.* 16. 6); *ad adventum* (*id.*, *ibid.* 2. 17).

§ 10. **purpuris:** 31. 6.

inanis . . . dignitatis, "a vain striving after greatness."

generosus . . . laudas: cf. Apul. *De Deo Socr.* 23.

§ 11. **moribus . . . censemur:** i.e. these are the possessions according to which people are rated in the Christian community. Cf. Lact. *Div. Inst.* 6. 20.

pompis: 12. 5.

de sacris originem: sc. *esse.* Cf. Tert. *Apol.* 38. 4; St. Paul, *Acts*, 15. 27; *Cor.* 1. 10. 20 ff.

currulibus: the chariot-races in the circus.

populi . . . rixantis: quarrels of the circus factions; cf. Pliny, *Ep.* 9. 7; Juv. *S.* 3. 223; 6. 87; 11. 193; Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, c. 40.

gladiatoriis: sc. *ludis.*

disciplinam, "practice."

§ 12. **scenicis:** sc. *ludis*; the theatre, where the mime was then much in vogue.

furor et: Meursius for *furore* of P.

mimus: here "mimic actor."

monstrat: i.e. by acting the part.

enervis = *enervatus*; post-Aug.

amorem . . . infligit: cf. *infligere alicui turpitudinem* (Cic. *Pis.* 26. 63); *histrionum motus quid aliud nisi libidines docent et instigant?* (Lact. *Div. Inst.* 6. 20. 9).

induendo: sc. *eis.*

in vero . . . mendacio, "in real life . . . in the counterfeit representation"; *verum*, subst. Cf. *in re ficta . . . in vera* (Cic. *Am.* 7. 24).

CHAPTER XXXVIII

§ 1. **reliquias . . . delibata:** the meat and drink remaining after the offering has been made to the god.

assertio: in leg. term., a formal declaration that one is a freeman or a slave; post-Aug. Cf. Tert. *Apol.* 27. 1; *De Spectac.* 13; St. Paul, *Cor.* 1. 18 ff.

dei munus: cf. St. Paul, *Tim.* 1. 4. 4; *Rom.* 14. 14.

§ 2. **indulgere:** after *dubitat*; 22. 1.

carpamus: Stewechius for *capiamus* of P. Cf. 19. 6.

sparsis . . . sertis: i.e. with petals strewn about (*sparsis*), perhaps at the *agapae*; and individual flowers (*solutis*) as opposed to garlands (*sertis*). *Mollibus*: *mollis* is a gen. epithet of flowers, "soft, delicate"; cf. *mollibus intexens ornabat cornua sertis* (Verg. *A.* 7. 488); *mollis viola* (*id.*, *ibid.* 11. 69). Waltzing after Dombart reads *sparsis utimur ac solutis et sertis mollibus.* Cf. *flores et inserti et innexi, et liberi et soluti* (Ter. *De Coron. Mil.* 5); *id.*, *Apol.* 42. 6.

auram = *odorem*; poet. (Verg. *G.* 4. 417). *Bonam*: Halm for *bona* corr. *boni* of P.

non occipitio: cf. *non emo capiti coronam; . . . sed etsi in coronam coacti, nos coronam naribus novimus: viderint qui per capillum odorantur* (Tert. *Apol.* 42. 6). The wearing of chaplets was forbidden to Christians. Cf. Clem. Alex. *Paedag.* 2. 8; Just. M. *Apol.* 2. 57.

§ 3. **mortuos coronamus:** Cic. speaks of *longae coronae* being forbidden at funerals (*Legg.* 2. 24). Cf. Pliny, *N.H.* 21. 3; Tert. *Coron. Mil.* 10; Clem. Alex. *ibid.* 2. 8. See 12. 6.

quemadmodum = *qua ratione.*

aut sentienti = *si sentiat.* Ursinus and Salmasius for *aut non sentienti* of P. The argt. is: "why cremate a dead man if he has feeling? or why bedeck him with wreaths if he has no feeling?"

beatus . . . miser: cf. *quid igitur timeam si aut non miser post mortem aut beatus etiam futurus sum?* (Cic. *Senect.* 67).

§ 4. **at enim,** "but, in truth"; 37. 3.

vividam: cf. *immarcescibilem coronam* (St. Peter, *Ep.* 1. 5. 4); *coronam incorruptam* (St. Paul, *Cor.* 1. 9. 5).

sustinemus = *expectamus*, as freq. in post-Aug. Lat. *Sustinere*, "to hold back," "to hold out against," hence "to wait for" something. Cf. *expectes et sustineas necesse est* (Mart. 9. 3. 13); *sustinenda solutio est nominis Caerellani* (Cic. *Att.* 12. 51. 3); St. Matt. 26. 38; St. Paul, *Acts*, 20. 5.

quieti, modesti: cf. *quieti et modesti spiritus* (St. Peter, *Ep.* 1. 3. 4).

animamus, "we quicken"; emend. of Vahlen for *animamur* of P.

sic, "thus it is that"; 1. 2.

resurgimus: the anticipative pres.; cf. *ni propere fit quod impero, vinciri vos iam iubeo* (Livy 36. 28).

§ 5. **Socrates scurra Atticus:** cf. *Zeno . . . Socratem ipsum parentem philosophiae . . . scurram Atticum fuisse dicebat* (Cic. *N.D.* 1. 34. 93); *id.*, *ibid.* 1. 13. 1; Lact. *Div. Inst.* 3. 20. 15.

viderit, "Socrates must look out for himself" (Brod.); fut. perf. of postponed action; cf. *legi Bruti epistolam non prudenter rescriptam; sed ipse viderit* (Cic. *Att.* 12. 21. 1).

licet: post-class. use; 16. 4.

daemonis: the Pythia, who said that Socrates was the wisest of men (Plato, *Apol.* 21 B).

Arcesilas, etc.: 13. 3. Pyrrho, the founder of the Sceptical School, is not mentioned by Caecilius (13. 3). As he is prior in date to Arcesilas and Carneades the mention of his name here is thought to be a marginal gloss.

comperendinet: sc. *rem*; "put the matter off until the day after to-morrow," i.e. postpone indefinitely (see 13. 4); in leg. terminology applied to the judge who cites defendant for a new trial fixed on the third following day or later. Cf. Cic. *Verr.* 2. 1. 9. Emend. of Sabaeus for *compraehendi nec* of P.

supercilia, "arrogance."

corruptores, "seducers"; cf. Tert. *Apol.* 46.

facundos: cf. *plerique philosophorum . . . diserti in convicium suum . . . Redundat ad ipsos maledicta in publicum missa* (Sen. ap. Lact. *Div. Inst.* 3. 15. 11); *lenones philosophus et censor* (Tert. *Apol.* 39). Cf. Juv. *S.* 2. 9 and 20; Gell. *N.A.* 13. 8; Lact. *Div. Inst.* 3. 15; 4. 24.

§ 6. **nos . . . praeferimus:** Waltzing after Ursinus inserts *qui* after *nos*. Tr. "we display"; cf. *nos pudorem non facie sed mente*

praestamus (31. 5). Cf. letter of Seneca to Lucilius: *illud te moneo, ne . . . facias aliqua, quae in habitu tuo aut genere vitae notabilia sint. Asperum cultum et intonsum caput et negligentiorem barbam . . . evita* (*Ep.* 5. 1).

magna: with *vivimus* also as internal accus. Cf. Cyprian, *De Bon. Pat.* 3; οὐκ ἐν λέξεσιν ἀλλ' ἐν πράγμασιν μεγαλοφωνία (Origen, *Contra Cels.* 2. 79).

§ 7. **invidemus**: read. of *r*; *invidemur* P. Cf. *quid nobis iniqui sumus et sapientiam suscipere cunctamur?* (Lact. *Div. Inst.* 3. 30).

veritas divinitatis, "the truth about the Godhead." Introd. vi. C 20.

recti sententiam temperemus, "let us keep in control our conviction of the truth"; i.e. not allow Christian belief to become contaminated. Cf. *constituere ac temperare civitates* (Cic. *Acc.* 2. 1. 3); *id.*, *Rep.* 2. 23. 42, where *temperare* is opposed to *miscere*. For *sententia* in this sense cf. the formula of oath *iurare ex sui animi sententia* (Cic. *Ac.* 2. 47). Waltzing reads *regula recti sententiam temperemus* (Dombart), but inclines to the MS. reading, taking *temperemus* as "observe a just measure in," i.e. avoid boasting about.

CHAPTER XXXIX

ad = *usque ad.*

silentium . . . intentos: cf. *conticuere omnes intentique ore tenebant* (Verg. *A.* 2. 1).

ad me est: Cic. uses *pertinet* (*Caecin.* 58); cf. Lucr. 3. 830.

evanui, "I was lost."

argumentis, "proofs."

lectionum auctoritatibus, "quoted authorities." *Lectio*, in this sense of the thing read, is post-class.

facilem . . . favorabilem, "easy (to understand) . . . agreeable." *Favorabilem* (= *gratam*) is post-Aug.; cf. *facili ac favorabili causa* (Quint. 12. 6. 6).

CHAPTER XL

§ 1. **istaec** = *ista*; archaic; cf. *hae* (3. 4). Introd. vi. B 4. This is read. of *r*. P has *iste haec.*

erupit: 16. 5.

plurimum quantum: 24. 1; after these words P has *eadem tranquillitate qua vivimus*, as in 38. 4.

sententiam, "the verdict" of Minucius, the umpire.

vicimus et ita, "yes, indeed (*et* = *etiam*), we (both) have won in this wise; for etc." For this use of *etiam* cf. *etiam*, *inquit*, *beatam sed non beatissimam* (Cic. *Ac.* 2. 43); *id.*, *Mur.* 31. 65.

ut . . . victoriam: parenthetical; *ut*, "how."

§ 2. **quod . . . quaestionis,** "as far as the main point of the inquiry is concerned." Restrictive subj.; cf. *quod sciam* (11. 7).

providentia: 18. 5.

de deo: Ursinus, for *deo* of P.

iam nostrae, "to which I now belong."

sinceritate, "genuineness."

consubsidunt: lit. "lie together at the bottom"; *ἅπαξ εἰρημ.* The metaphor is from the dregs of a vessel which is emptied. Cf. *subsedit funditus ut faex* (Lucret. 5. 497).

necessaria: *necessarium ait esse Opilius Aurelius, in quo non sit cessandum, aut sine quo vivi non possit, aut sine quo non bene vivatur, aut quod non possit prohiberi quin fiat* (Paul. ex Fest. p. 162 Müller). The word is used here in its orig. signif., = *in quibus non est cessandum.* Tr. "which must be removed for the sake of complete instruction." Cf. *tam necessario tempore* (Caes. *B.G.* 1. 16. 6), "at such a pressing crisis," i.e. a time when no delay must be made. *Institutioni*: dat. of the end in view. Introd. vi. C 22.

crastino = *cras*; cf. Gell. *N.A.* 2. 29. 9. Cic. has *in crastinum differre* (*Or.* 2. 90).

sol . . . declivis: cf. end of Cic. *N.D.*: *sed quoniam advesperascit, dabis nobis diem aliquem, ut contra ista dicamus* (3. 95). The dative *occasui* is poet. for *in occasum.* Cf. *Judges*, 19. 9.

ut, "seeing that"; 11. 5.

§ 3. **vice,** "on account of."

etiam . . . vicerit, "I too have profited by the victory of Octavius." For subj. cf. 14. 3; 34. 5. Introd. vi. C 36.

repensare, "recompense"; in this sense post-Aug.

et unius, "and a single individual at that"; cf. *et hoc* (5. 4).

oravit . . . obtinuit: sc. *causam*; "he pleaded and won his case."

§ 4. **discessimus:** cf. end. of Cic. *N.D.*: *haec cum essent dicta, ita discessimus ut . . .* (3. 95).

et quod = *quod et*; on *et* misplaced see Introd. vi. C 39.

INDEX TO THE INTRODUCTION AND NOTES

[The figures indicate the chapter and section of the Notes and the page of the Introduction.]